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SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND CULTURAL ATTRACTIONS:

A Comparative Study of Ethnic Interpretive Centres in China and Canada

By

Yiping Li ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall, 1995

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August 18, 1995

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

This undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND CULTURAL ATTRACTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ETHNIC INTERPRETIVE CENTRES IN CHINA AND CANADA submitted by YIPING LI in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

T. D. Hinch

T. L. Burton

J. Dempsey

Date: August 8, 1995

ABSTRACT

More and more tourists are travelling in pursuit of cultural experiences including those associated with other ethnic groups. However, the sensitive nature of cultural resources represents a very real challenge if this type of tourism is to be sustainable over the long term. A promising approach to sustainable cultural tourism development has been the establishment of ethnic culture interpretive centres. This research is an exploration of this approach. A comparative case study analysis of two ethnic culture interpretive centres, Yunnan Folk Culture Village, China, and Wanuskewin Heritage Park, Canada is used to provide insights into this form of attraction. Particular attention is directed toward the development process, major social/cultural issues, and development strategies associated with ethnic tourism attractions. A modified version of Swain's (1989) conceptual model of indigenous tourism development is used to conduct the comparative case study analysis. Each attraction is reviewed in the context of: the nation-state in which it exists, the tourism industry within which it functions, and the ethnic groups upon which the attractions are based. Swain's (1989) model also serves as the basis for the three research subproblems of the study related to: 1) development process, 2) major social/cultural issues, and 3) the strategies for resolution of these issues. By following this framework, findings of positive achievements and unresolved challenges associated with the attractions are discussed, thereby addressing alternatives to the sustainable development of this type of ethnic tourism attractions. In conclusion, theoretical implications are identified for the future development of this kind of tourism attraction and directions for further research in this area are also presented.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this work to the peoples of Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park, whose support and hospitality were great encouragements to my research.

I thank Dr. Wes Heber and his wife Dr. Lourdes Heber, who provided support during my field trip to Wanuskewin and whose generous input reduced many barriers to the collection of information in Saskatoon and Regina.

I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Dr. Thomas D. Hinch, whose wise counsel was a stimulating guide. I thank the members of my thesis committee, Professor Thomas L. Burton and Associate Professor James Dempsey for their valuable criticism and opinions.

Above all I wish to dedicate this work to China, my motherland, whose culture was an inspiration throughout to the study.

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I. THE RESEARCH AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

A. Introduction

Tourism is a global phenomenon that is predicted to become the world's largest industry by the turn of the century (Wood and House, 1991). Among the millions of people travelling every day, are increasing numbers seeking cultural experiences of other ethnic groups. This phenomenon of ethnic based tourism has substantial implications for the development, management and marketing of tourism destinations. Destination countries have increasingly courted a global market which is shifting from manipulated, uncritical "old tourists' to mature, critical and emancipated "new tourists" (Krippendorf, 1987). Tourism marketing is accordingly becoming more culturally oriented. The chosen object of enticement for many tourism destination countries is becoming ethnic cultural heritage. Ethnicity often provides the destination with a distinctive product, distinguished from competing destinations. However, developing ethnic tourism is not as simple as it might first appear:

> What features should be selected? What is attractive to a chosen market? And just as important, what will be repulsive and to whom? (Boniface and Fowler, 1993: 1)

Ethnic tourism caters to the strong desire of many tourists to learn about, witness and experience other cultures. The fact that tourists place a high value on these opportunities is demonstrated by their willingness to allocate significant expenditures in the form of their money, time and energy. While destinations strive to turn these expenditures into local revenue and income, critics warn that tourism may actually destroy the hosts' culture (Turner and Ash, 1975). This criticism contrasts with the argument that a tourist's satisfying travel experience is matched by tangible rewards in the destination, primarily of

an economic nature (Mill and Morrison, 1985). The reality is that a variety of economic, environmental, and social/cultural impacts accrue to the destination; some of which are positive while others are negative.

Ethnic tourism destinations, therefore, must grapple with the difficulty of fostering the positive impacts of tourism while discouraging the negative impacts in order to develop the industry in a sustainable fashion. As a result, the sensitive nature of ethnic culture resources represents a very real challenge in the pursuit of sustainable development of ethnic tourism.

Sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Countryside Commission, 1989). Many approaches to sustainable tourism have been suggested and explored by tourism researchers and practitioners in order to meet the present goal of development without sacrificing the future needs. For example, the so-called alternative tourism strategies such as eco-tourism, nature tourism, and small-scale tourism are among these approaches (Boo, 1990; Butler, 1990; Johnston, 1990). These approaches are meant to protect the sensitive natural and cultural environments while satisfying tourist needs. Although these approaches may work in selected areas, they have been criticised for being naive and perhaps misleading in that they can have negative outcomes (Butler, 1990). They also ignore the escalating demand for ethnic experiences by only addressing the demand of a select few wealthy patrons (Johnston, 1990), thereby earning alternative tourism approaches the criticism of being elitist.

B. Basic research question

Tourism has continued to expand. In spite of the world recession of the early 1980s,

tourism has surpassed both weapons and oil industries to hold the title of the world's largest export earner (Johnston, 1990). In the face of this growth, it is unrealistic to expect that the existing tourism strategies will satisfy current and future levels of demand. To address these growing demands, alternative strategies are required, which should include provision for sustainable ethnic tourism. Gunn (1994) suggests that the establishment of purposely created ethnic culture interpretive centres as attractions may be a more promising approach to sustainable development. Figure 1.1 illustrates how a cultural interpretive centre balances the demand and supply between alternative tourism and mass tourism. Mass tourism represents high demand and supply in the tourism business. Alternative tourism allows small elite groups of tourists to have direct contact with the sensitive natural and cultural environment so as to satisfy their particular travel interests, thus representing low demand and supply. However, among the larger group of mass tourists, there may be a substantial demand for closer contact with the sensitive cultural and natural tourism resources. A middle ground between these two extremes, mass tourism and alternative tourism is needed. A purposely built cultural interpretive centre can present an ethnic group as a focal point, through which the demand for closer cultural contact can be realized but managed for the protection of sensitive cultural and natural resources from the ravages of uncontrolled mass tourism. Therefore, the basic research question for this study is whether cultural tourism attractions in the form of ethnic interpretive centres represent a promising approach to sustainable tourism. This study attempts to answer this basic research question through a comparative case study analysis of two ethnic culture interpretive centres--Yunnan Folk Culture Village in Kunming, China, and Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatoon, Canada. The study provides specific insights into each of the two attractions. It helps to clarify the value of this approach to sustainable ethnic tourism by articulating the lessons provided by

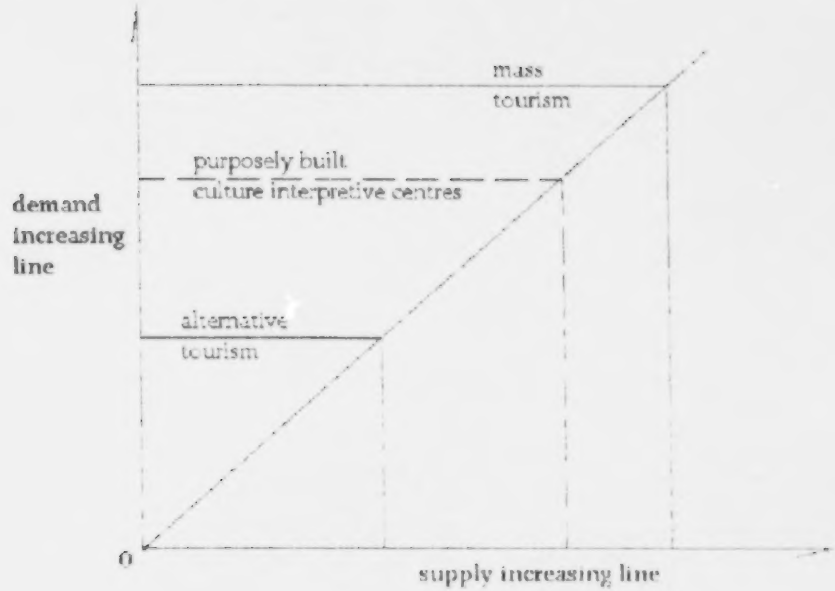


Figure 1.1.Balance between alternative tourism and mass tourism created by culture interpretive centres

these two attractions.

C. Significance of the research

Tourism strategies are increasingly making use of the colourful nature of the ethnic people who live in developing countries or regions. One of the significant benefits of tourism is the employment of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Given the large supply for this labour force in developing ethnic regions, tourism appears to be a promising industry (Walle, 1993). In addition, the colourful and exotic life styles of ethnic people are major assets which can serve as an important attraction in the destination (Edgell, 1990;

Edgell and Hayes, 1988; Smith, 1989). However, as ethnic tourism continues, many researchers have become increasingly concerned with issues of equitable treatment, and equatability (Greenwood, 1989; Smith, 1989; Walle, 1993). Increasingly, cultural conservation, as a form of sustainable development, is introduced to protect ethnic minority people who are in contact with the developed world. Tourism project directors are looking for effective strategies, which can balance cultural conservation and tourism development--the challenge of sustainable ethnic tourism. One of the key contributions of this study is to suggest an alternative approach to addressing this challenge; the establishment of purposely created ethnic interpretive centres.

As tourism attractions, ethnic interpretive centres are designed to balance the demands of tourists with the interests of the hosts in a sustainable fashion. They present an attempt to provide ethnic hosts with the means to determine and manage their participation in the tourism economy. At the same time, a well staged ethnic tourism attraction provides visitors with a close exposition of a culture heritage in an informative and stimulating fashion, but does not necessarily require total immersion in the host culture. This tourism development strategy is characterized by Ryan (1991) as setting up a "honeypot", which is a major recreational resort built near centres of population to attract users, thereby protecting the more distant fragile zones. This "honeypot" would "deter visits by the allocentric, explorer type tourist, whilst the psychocentric, mass-organized tourists would remain content with their touristic bubble experiencing its fun-packed delights" (Ryan, 1991: 116).

> Such an arrangement is convenient for the resident as well as the visitor. It reduces the need for tourist exploration and disturbance of the local community, and can provide a forum through which local people can take pride in demonstrating their culture and retain old crafts and customs in the process. (Murphy, 1985: 146)

The examples of ethnic interpretive centres selected for this research are the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, China and Wanuskewin Heritage Park, Canada. These two sites share the same essence as ethnic tourism attractions but they also feature many differences in terms of their environmental context. Therefore, the second contribution of this study is to gain insight on the implications of these variations through a systematic comparison of the two attractions.

In the literature of tourism research, there has been much information regarding tourism and sustainable development, the relationship between hosts and guests, and tourist imagery. However, this information is scattered throughout in the literature. To permit appropriate analysis of ethnic tourism attractions, there is a need to integrate these scattered data into an intelligible whole. The third contribution of this study is to collate appropriate tourism research findings from related literature, thereby advancing the understanding of ethnic tourism attractions.

Useful recommendations depend on a sound understanding of each attraction. In pursuit of this understanding, the author spent one week in each of the two selected ethnic interpretive centres, studying the development process and current problems related to using ethnic culture resources for tourism development. The rationale for comparison of the two attractions, therefore, is that the methods and concepts underlying the successful use of ethnic culture resources in Wanuskewin Heritage Park may be of interest to the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, and vice versa. The forth contribution of this study emerges from this comparison. The study will identify and assess the strategies addressing the social/cultural issues inherent in the development of this type of ethnic attractions. This identification and assessment forms the basis for the recommendations made later in the study. These recommendations reflect the needs and vulnerabilities of ethnic minority people and cultural

resources when development strategies are being formulated.

D. Limitations

There are limitations which limit accuracy of the research analysis of the two case studies. First, the researcher was socialized within the Chinese majority Han culture and has only recently been introduced to the cultures of the Canadian Indians. Second, the researcher's view of the Chinese minorities is influenced by membersihip in the Chinese majority nationality group.

In general, the physical distance and the cultural barrier between the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, the researcher, and the Wanuskewin Heritage Park make the data collection challenging. As a result, the data collected from the two sites varied in quantity and complexity. For instance, more printed documents were available related to Wanuskewin Heritage Park than Yunnan Folk Culture Village, while more in-depth interviews were conducted in the Chinese case. This apparent imbalance in the data collection process contributes to the fact that the Chinese case study was largely dependent on the interpretation of the interviews, while more document reviews were involved in studying the Canadian case. Third, due to the specific focus of the study on cultural tourism in the form of ethnic interpretive centres, the research cannot go beyond this focus to discuss the much broader issues of Canadian First Nations historical and contemporary affairs, although some documentary exploration was attempted. Fourth, the data analysis is dependent on a select number of individuals, which is far from a complete representation of the whole phenomenon. Fifth, there has been a dearth of existing research on ethnic interpretive centres in general, which allows little compatible reference basis for the research. Without complete and accurate data for the study, it is difficult to make the truly

definitive evaluation of the proper direction for future development. It is felt that the comparative analysis approach reduces some of these limitations, because comparing one ethnic tourism attraction with another provides insights that do not exist under independent study.

E. Structure of the thesis

The thesis has been organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the study. It also clarifies the basic research question, the significance of the research, the related limitations, and the structure of the whole thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on ethnic tourism. This review includes brief descriptions of: the economic perspective of ethnic tourism, the manifestation of destination impacts, the practice of ethnic tourism, the relationship between ethnic tourism and sustainable development, and the definition of a tourist attraction. Chapter 3 provides further clarification of the research problem. This chapter also describes the methodology used to address the research problem. It includes a description and analysis of the framework for the research, an introduction to the research survey, as well as data collection and analysis procedures. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 present the findings associated with the two case studies. These findings were obtained by an examination of the process, issues, and strategies involved in the development of the two selected ethnic tourism attractions. The findings are interpreted in depth in Chapter 6 with a study of unresolved challenges and positive achievements manifested in the practices of the two attractions. The identification of these challenges and achievements forms the final chapter summary. It also forms the basis of recommendations for the development of interpretive centres as ethnic tourism attractions and a discussion of theoretical implications.

II. ETHNIC TOURISM: CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES

A research study cannot be conducted without a conceptual and theoretical base. Having set the basic research question, the intent of this chapter is to review existing studies of ethnic tourism so as to build a theoretical base for answering the question. The approach chosen to accomplish this is to review ethnic tourism from cultural and economic perspectives to identify the documented benefits and costs of this type of development. Strategies to maximize the net benefits are then considered. The chapter is therefore divided into the following sections: A) economic perspective of ethnic tourism; B) manifestation of destination impacts; C) the practice of ethnic tourism; D) ethnic tourism and its relationship with sustainable development; E) strategies for sustainable development; and F) defining a tourism attraction.

A. Economic perspective of ethnic tourism

Terms such as "cultural" and "ethnic" tourism are common in the literature of tourism research (Smith, 1989; Butler and Hinch, in press). Similarly there is often reference to the "quaint" customs of indigenous and other exotic peoples. Usually ethnic tourism involves some form of direct experience with ethnic culture and environment. In addition, the human element is important in ethnic tourism, whether it be: "visiting ethnic homes and villages; observing and participating in local customs, ceremonies, rituals, dances and other traditional activities; and studying or purchasing indigenous artifacts, arts and crafts" (Moscardo and Pearce, 1989: 387). A number of authors have made a distinction between ethnic tourism and general cultural tourism (Greenwood, 1982; Wood, 1984; Klieger, 1990; Harron and Weiler, 1992). Wood (1984) perhaps presents the best illustration

of the differences between the two. His view is that ethnic tourism involves first hand experience with the practices of another culture, while cultural tourism involves exposure to a culture in an indirect way, and more as a backdrop than as the specific focus of travel. In addition, ethnic tourism may be perceived by visitors as more "intimate" (Klieger, 1990) and more "authentic" (Greenwood, 1982). Ethnic tourists "exhibit a common desire for authenticity, immersion in the cultural and/or physical environment, and the pursuit of environmental and experiential quality" (Weiler and Hall, 1992: 84)--in an attempt to experience novelty and uniqueness as part of the travel experience. Therefore, ethnic tourism attractions usually aim to offer a transient opportunity for the tourists to capture some of this "intimacy" or "authenticity", and the novelty of experiencing a unique culture.

The tourism industry is comparable to a mirage, as tourists are demanding the "novelty of a unique culture" (Craik, 1991). Tourism appears to be a distortion or apparition, offering people the chance to escape temporarily from everyday life. So many people are now pursuing this escape that tourism has become a worldwide growth industry (Centre for International Economics, 1988; Edgell, 1990). At the same time, however, tourists have become increasingly discriminating. A second rate attraction supported by functional transportation and accommodation infrastructure is no longer acceptable to the vast majority of travellers. Satisfying travel experiences are now more likely to result from a visit where tourists enjoy a "greater integration with the place visited and fuller involvement in the social and cultural life of the holiday destination" (World Tourism Organization, 1985: 3). Under this form of tourism, the pursuits of ethnic based cultural experiences often represent the primary motivation for visiting a destination.

Notwithstanding its cultural context, ethnic tourism is an economic activity. It exists due to the forces of demand and supply. More specifically, ethnic tourism exists due to the

scarcity and uneven distribution of ethnic cultural resources. Figure 2.1 (Hinch and Li, 1994) illustrates this economic perspective of ethnic tourism. The market consists of those people seeking a unique ethnic cultural experience. This market demands certain resources which tourists feel will facilitate this experience. However, like most other types of economic activity, further processing of basic resources is required. While the raw cultural resources in a destination may provide the context and environment for tourism, further refinement is necessary to produce a tangible product appropriate for consumption by a tourist. The tourism literature commonly refers to this process as the commodification of culture (Graburn, 1989; Greenwood, 1989). Concerns are raised in regards to the negative connotations attached to the process based on arguments that commodification destroys the authenticity of a culture. However, it can be countered that commodification may actually represent a mechanism to protect the cultural resources. Destinations that selectively transform cultural resources into tangible products not only facilitate the exchange of this cultural experience for a financial return, but the potential to create a situation in which the destinations can promote sustainable development through the careful management of resources (Craik, 1991). While the market's original demands focused on the resources, its actual consumption will be a processed product. The physical travel of tourists will occur between the location of the market (origin) and the location of the product (destination). To the extent that the production and distribution of this product is controlled by the destination (temporal and spatial), the hosts have the opportunity to protect their cultural resources.

B. Manifestation of destination impacts

Consequently, the commodification of culture in the context of ethnic tourism is not

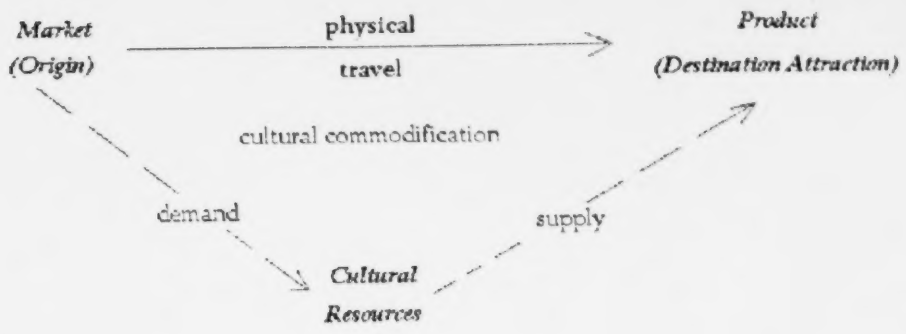


Figure 2.1. Economic perspective of ethnic tourism (based on Hinch and Li, 1994: 82)

necessarily a destructive process. Nevertheless, it is not a panacea for development. The negative impacts of ethnic tourism can be significant. The travel writer Jan Morris (Ryan, 1991) wrote with great intensity about what she felt mass tourism had done to her ethnic home region of the Llyn Peninsula in North Wales:

> For years I have tried to defend it [tourism] as a valuable asset to a poor region... I stood up for the vast caravan parks which disfigure so much of our coast on the grounds that the caravan was the poor man's holiday cottage... No longer, something has cracked in me. I have come to detest all aspects of mass tourism... It has gone too far, has got out of control--not just in Llyn outside my window, but wherever in the world affluence, big business and officialdom have made it possible... too many of the entrepreneurs who are developing tourism in our part of Wales are not local people at all. They are English people who have come to Wales to develop tourism! Their oblivion to the local history and culture is generally absolute--few of them have the courtesy to put up their shop signs in Welsh--and their contribution to the national well-being, vociferously though they claim to represent Welsh progress at planning enquiries or in Letters to the Editor, is virtually nil (Morris, in Ryan, 1991: 131).

This complaint is not simply one of tourism damaging the landscape, but of more insidious damage to a way of life, to a culture and to a set of values.

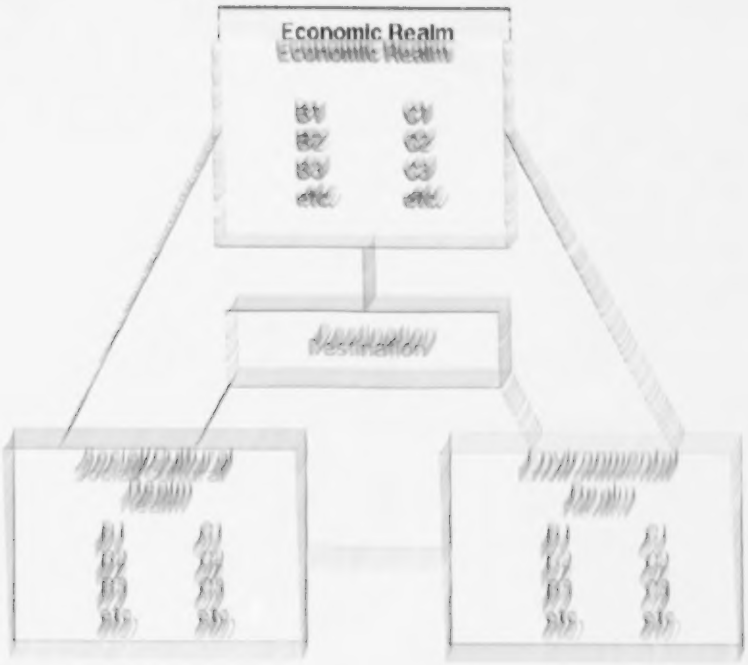
Therefore, ethnic tourism is an activity with coexistent benefits and costs as illustrated in Figure 2.2 (Hinch and Li, 1994). These impacts accrue to the economic,

social/cultural and environmental realms. Examples of potential benefits include employment income and foreign exchange earnings, cultural revitalization and improved political influence, and the protection of ecosystems from less sustainable use (Burchett, 1988; Harron and Weiler, 1992; Swain, 1990). At the same time, costs such as inflation, the denigration of sacred sites, and pollution represent just a few of the negative impacts that may accompany tourism development (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). While it is convenient to categorise these impacts into specific realms, it must be appreciated that the realms are interconnected and the tourism system as a whole is not closed to outside influences. For example, the erosion of local customs through inappropriate tourism will not only have direct effects on the cultural way of life within the destination, but repercussions will eventually be felt in the economic realm as the resource is destroyed. The erosion of local customs indicates the decline of or at least change in cultural resources. Once the resources disappear in an area, tourists cease to come, consequently affecting the area's economic activities.

The manifestation of tourism impacts in the destination is therefore complex rather than simple. Development strategies represent an attempt to ensure a net positive balance by maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs. This is no easy task since decisions must be made and strategies developed in a dynamic environment involving many interrelated variables. As a result, ethnic tourism is a controversial phenomenon, raising fundamental questions of sustainability regarding the commodification of ethnic cultures.

C. The practice of ethnic tourism

Recent trends suggest that the world tourism market is changing. As Pearce (1988: 219) points out: "The future trends for tourism seem to suggest that travelers will be



B: benefits
C: costs

Figure 2.2 Manifestation of destination impacts (Based on Kinch and Li, 1998: 65)

especially concerned not with just being 'there', but with participating, learning and experiencing the 'there' they visit." Ethnic tourism occurs when the tourists' motivation and decision-making are primarily determined by a particular social and cultural interest associated with a specific ethnic group. While the emergence of ethnic tourism can be of great benefit to travellers and destinations, it is sometimes the case that ethnic tourism

creates new social and cultural problems in the destination, like those just identified.

Notwithstanding these issues, an increasing number of destinations have decided to pursue ethnic tourism development (Hatton and Weiler, 1992). In addition to the economic benefits, they are searching for benefits such as fostering cultural pride within their own ethnic group and promoting a better understanding of their group by individuals from other groups (Edgell, 1990; Smith, 1989). However, even well intentioned tourists can cause damage when they come in high numbers and seek access to the "back stage" or private realm, as well as the "front stage" or public realm of their hosts' communities (Greenwood, 1989; Smith, 1989). Ethnic tourism is a mixed blessing both for tourists and hosts: benefits and costs coexist. In Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism (Smith, 1989) several case studies illustrate the positive benefits of ethnic tourism, such as those found in Bali, the Polynesian Cultural Centre and the San Blas Indians. A carefully planned, well-organized tourist destination can benefit the ethnic group through exposure to a variety of ideas, people, languages and other cultural traits in addition to economic benefits. It can add to the richness of the hosts' experience by stimulating an interest in the local history through restoration and preservation of historical sites. As Edgell (1990) has noted, some of the cultural richness in the U. S. black communities is being revived as potential for tourism development. In New York, the revitalization of Harlem has made that community a well-known tourist destination abroad. The legacies of Harlem are known around the world. The district is increasingly being recognized both domestically and internationally for its rich cultural heritage, landmarks, museums, churches, parks, architectural structures, and varied night life (Edgell and Hayes, 1988).

Organized ethnic tourism development can provide opportunities for local people to learn more about themselves, thus increasing feelings of pride in their heritage and a

heightened perception of their own worth (Edgell, 1990). For example, increased contact between the ethnic community and tourists can lead to increased knowledge of the ethnic culture. This may contribute to the visibility and reputation of an ethnic culture internationally. Ultimately it can produce new values and ways of life (Craik, 1991). Tourism can also contribute to ethnic cultural revival, since the host culture may benefit from the revitalization of traditional arts, crafts, rituals and music. Often, the demand by tourists for ethnic arts and crafts has heightened the interest and maintained the skills of local artisans and craftsmen by providing an audience and market. Within minority groups, tourism may stimulate adults to revive and teach the meaning of tradition to the younger generations (Xie, 1993). Certainly the social/cultural and environmental aspects of an ethnic region can enrich tourism in general and provide different and unique opportunities for tourists to experience arts, music, dance, food, literature, language, religion, and history different from their own. In addition, tourism brings to the ethnic area social/cultural and economic traits from the homeland of the tourists, which, may positively play an enriching role by bringing new amenities and facilities to a traditional ethnic society along with new choices and social activities. As Craik (1991: 88) notes:

> Tourism encourages higher educational and training opportunities and standards; heritage and environment may be managed and thereby protected; and new social experiences, cultural interchange, new ideas and new cultures are also encouraged.

Negatively, however, ethnic tourism development may also lead to rapid social, cultural and economic change which may be unacceptable or erode fundamental structures of an ethnic community. On the cost side, the change may de-stabilize and undermine a culture as the relationship between the ethnic community and tourists turns into a purely commercial one. Many cases revealed in Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism (Smith, 1989) have indicated that tourism may often result in transient and destructive

contacts with meaningless ritualized displays. Consequently, sacred sites may be denigrated and cultural attractions eroded. Catering to guests, therefore, becomes a repetitive, monotonous business, and although questions posed by each visitor are "new" to her/him, hosts start to feel that they have simply turned on a cassette. It becomes progressively harder to rekindle the spontaneity and enthusiasm that truly welcome the guests (Smith, 1989). Furthermore, social stress becomes apparent when ethnic tourism invades the privacy of the hosts' daily lives, as among Kotzebue Eskimo (Smith, 1989) or when, by government fiat, a substantive sacred ritual, the *Alarde* of Fuentarrabia, Spain, is made public (Greenwood, 1989). To protect the integrity of their value system as the basis of group solidarity, one possible solution for the people whose culture is the object of tourism would be transferring the "front stage" in their lives to the private realm removed from tourist view (Smith, 1989).

Just as disturbing, "tourism is correlated with increases in gambling, prostitution, drunkenness, drug use, theft and petty crime" (Craik, 1991: 88). Impacts such as social/cultural breakdown and a loss of sense of identity and place can occur as negative outcomes of ethnic tourism. Studies in Tonga (Urbanowicz, 1989) note that tourists from large cruise ships produce crowded conditions in the island and that Tongan children beg from the visitors at major tourist attractions. Prostitution and vice tend to become more prominent as a response to the visits of the cruise ships, while the quickly generated tourist dollars in the island seem to foster drunkenness and crime. There is also evidence that ethnic hosts come to see themselves in some of the ways the tourists view them. Tourists come to Tahiti partly because of its reputation for beautiful women, which helps account for the more important role of Tahitian females in the tourism industry. Thus the modern Tahitian male has been forced into a subservient role, which contrasts with the traditional

values of Tahitian society where men were dominant and powerful in community life (Petit-Skinner, 1977).

D. Ethnic tourism and its relationship with sustainable development

In order to minimize the negative impacts of tourism, considerable attention is focused on sustainable development in recent tourism research (Nelson et al., 1993). It is believed that "in tourism, perhaps more than in most industrial developments, there is an opportunity to blend conservation and development in a continuing, lasting and sustainable marriage" (Western Australian Tourism Commission, 1989: 5). An examination of the following definition reveals that sustainable development is applicable to tourism.

> Sustainable development is positive socioeconomic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and society are dependent. Its successful implementation requires integrated policy, planning, and social learning processes; its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private activities. (in Gunn, 1994: 85)

First, the basic premise of "positive socioeconomic change" makes growth possible but requires that the growth be positive. This suggests that such change should provide net social and economic benefits. Second, it defines change as something that "does not undermine the ecological and social systems". This implies that such change should avoid undisciplined use of resources. It also claims that these social and ecological systems are the foundation upon which societies depend. Finally, it points out that successful implementation requires several public and private policies and actions, such as "integrated policy, planning, and social learning processes". These are the key elements to tourism planning, principles and practices.

This concept of sustainable development has greatest application at an ethnic tourist site scale in the socio-economic and environmental realms. A site, such as an ethnic

interpretative centre, is a facility designed to provide the tourist with a rich, accurate and entertaining understanding of cultural resources (Gunn, 1994). One of the reasons why an ethnic culture site is often established, is to relieve the tourist pressure on the "real environment". The key to success is that the facility within the site must facilitate a fascinating and memorable tourist experience, while preventing degradation of the cultural resources of the "real environment." Thus it is at the site scale (i.e. where the tourism transaction occurs) that the specific issue of balancing resource protection with development changes from policy to action. Sustainability is not, however, inherent to this type of tourism development. "Tourism is a dynamic and not a static phenomenon." (Butler, 1993: 29) Similar to other industries, tourism is an agent of development and change. It is consumptive like other industries, and the level of consumption is determined by how tourism is developed (Woodley, 1993). At certain levels of consumption and with careful planning, tourism may be able to operate in a sustainable fashion. Controlling the level and style of development over the long term presents many challenges, since potential impacts must be addressed throughout the planning and management process. Developers need not consider this action a constraint but rather a necessity for doing business. What they do need to consider is how to maximize the social and cultural benefits while minimizing the costs.

E. Strategies for sustainable ethnic tourism

In order to achieve the goal of sustainable development, two cultural factors need special consideration in the planning and management process: the authenticity of an ethnic cultural experience of visitors; and, the long-term cultural viability of a destination area in the face of mass tourism. These factors are related because they involve the presentation

and preservation of a destination's cultural heritage (Murphy, 1985). Strategies such as alternative tourism have been initiated by the industry to satisfy the demand of a select number of tourists and to minimize negative impacts in the destination (Boo, 1990; Gunn, 1994; Johnston, 1990). However, rising demand by mass tourists is not addressed. Gunn's (1994) strategy of establishing purposely built ethnic interpretive centres seems to offer a more promising approach to sustainable ethnic tourism. This kind of ethnic tourism attraction not only attempts to regulate the contact between tourists and hosts, but also aims to retain the distinctive elements of an ethnic culture. It presents an ethnic cultural heritage in a way that is meaningful for hosts and tourists. Designated by MacCannell (1973) as "staged authenticity", ethnic interpretive centres appear to be able to balance the demands of tourists and the interests of the hosts in such a way that the goal of sustainable development is likely to be achieved.

F. Defining a tourism attraction

The tourism industry has created "front stages" and "back stages" for tourist consumption (Craik, 1991). "Front stages" are organized public faces or displays, while "back stages" are sanitised forms of mundane or private local activities. Many tourists prefer experiences which get behind the "front stages" to see the "real" life of a destination, and "back stage" tours have sometimes been organized as a result. However, "in the institutionalization of holiday types, such authentic forms soon become systematized into mainstream tourism" (Craik, 1991: 94). MacCannell (1973: 597) suggests that contemporary society is characterized by "the appearance everywhere of touristic space". "Front stages" and "back stages" are merely "ideal poles of touristic experience". This touristic space can be called a stage set or a tourist setting. MacCannell (1973) has identified the

characteristics of a tourism attraction as follows: i) the only reason that need be given for visiting them is to see them--in this regard they are unique among social places; ii) they are physically proximal to serious social activity, or serious activity is imitated in them; iii) they contain objects, tools, and machines that have specialized use in specific, often esoteric, social, occupational, and industrial routines and; iv) they are open, at least during specific times, to visitation from outsiders. Leiper (1990) interprets an attraction as a system of a human element (traveller), a central element (a nucleus), and an informative element (a marker). The essence of an attraction begins with a traveller's search for suitable leisure away from home. Second, it features a nucleus characteristic of the attraction, that a traveller contemplates visiting. Third, a marker is necessarily attached to provide information about any phenomenon that is a potential nucleus element in the attraction. Then, "a tourist attraction comes into existence when the three elements are connected" (Leiper, 1990: 371).

It is now accepted that certain types of tourism provide staged versions of authentic activities rather than real experience (Craik, 1991; Leiper, 1990; Murphy, 1985). While this has been criticised for being less authentic, it may also be a better way to manage the impacts of tourism, because a built attraction provides standardized facilities and services according to the ideals of comfort and luxury. In a built attraction, tourists do not have to leave familiar surroundings should they prefer to remain in a familiar environment with the comforts and certainties of home to experience different cultures and exotic treats in short side trips. According to Murphy (1985: 146), "Most modern tourist attractions are staged to some extent, but the term 'staged' need be associated no longer with poor taste or deception". The Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii is one of the successful "staged attractions" in ethnic tourism.

Located in the small community of Laie, an hour's drive from the prime Hawaiian tourist destination of Waikiki, the Polynesian Cultural Centre has a three-fold purpose: preserving the culture of the Polynesians; providing employment for students of Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus and; providing direct financial aid to BYU--Hawaii. It is a "reconstruction of the exotic, more popular elements of Polynesia and puts 'on stage' selected aspects of Polynesian life" (Stanton, 1977: 203). In addition to showing aspects of Hawaiian culture, the centre also illustrates the material culture and performing arts of other Polynesian cultures, bringing employees from Fiji, Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga to demonstrate their culture. This tourism attraction fulfils the cultural tourism expectations of most visitors and has become the second most popular tourism attraction in Hawaii (Murphy, 1985).

Following the idea of this kind of "staged attraction" and Gunn's (1994) reference to built culture interpretive centres, this study presents two comparative case studies. The study analyzes the benefits and costs that have been manifested in the development process of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, China, and Wanuskewin Heritage Park, Canada. Swain's (1989) "conceptual model of indigenous tourism development" is used to examine each respective attraction's development process, consider major social/cultural issues, and identify and assess the resolutions of the issues. The major purpose of this examination is: to explore whether this kind of ethnic tourism attraction is a means to achieve economic sustainability, making the best long-term use of ethnic cultural resources and improving ethnic peoples' living standards; and, to evaluate the validity of this kind of cultural attraction as an approach to culture sustainability, preserving ethnic culture features and maintaining a unique sense of ethnicity of the region. The study may not achieve a conclusive answer, but it will provide some useful observations.

III. PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Having established the conceptual context of the study in Chapter 2, the next step is to articulate the research problem and subproblems, and to identify the method of investigation. The methodological approach used is primarily qualitative in nature. A comparative case study analysis serves as the framework for articulating similarities and differences associated with the tourism practice at the two ethnic tourism sites. The utilization of this comparative case study method is meant to help clarify the value of ethnic interpretive centres to sustainable ethnic tourism.

A. Statement of the problem and the subproblems

While the challenges facing ethnic tourism destinations are numerous, one of the central issues is the commodification of culture. Is it possible to package a culture for sale as a product to tourists without severely damaging that culture in the same process? In particular, can built ethnic culture attractions to be developed and managed in a sustainable way for the benefit of all parties involved? In view of these considerations, the purpose of this research can be formally expressed as being:

> **To conduct a comparative case study analysis of Yunnan Folk Culture Village in Kunming, China and Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatoon, Canada in order to provide insights into the development of sustainable ethnic tourism attractions.**

Based on an extension of Swain's (1989) conceptual model of indigenous tourism development, three subproblems are identified as follows:

> **Subproblem 1**
> To compare the process of ethnic tourism development in the two attractions. Process will be considered in the context of: a) the ethnic autonomy exercised within each nation-state, b) the ethnic image marketed through the promotional activities of the tourism industry, and c) ethnic

response revealed through participation in the tourism activities of each respective attraction.

Subproblem 2
To compare the major issues associated with the two ethnic tourism attractions. Areas of special consideration include: a) nation-state regulation versus ethnic control, b) the tendency of freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution and contemporary perspectives, and c) tendencies toward cultural pluralism versus integration.

Subproblem 3
To identify and assess the strategies employed in each attraction for the resolution of issues in the pursuit of sustainable ethnic tourism.

The first subproblem compares the ethnic tourism development process of the two attractions from the perspective of the nation-state, tourism industry, and the ethnic group involved. Corresponding issues associated with each perspective include: the level of ethnic autonomy found within each attraction, the way the two attractions are marketed, and the social/cultural response of the respective ethnic groups. The second subproblem concerns the identification of the major social/cultural issues associated with ethnic tourism development in the two selected attractions in terms of the paradoxes encountered in the development. Possible paradoxes include: state regulation versus ethnic rights, the tendency of freezing ethnic culture in time versus the recognition of cultural evolution, and cultural pluralism versus integration within the broader society. The final subproblem involves identification of the strategies and practices utilized by each attraction in resolving these issues. Addressing each of these subproblems will provide insights into the potential sustainability of the two ethnic tourism attractions.

B. A framework for the comparative analysis of ethnic tourism attractions

Swain's (1989: 37) conceptual model of indigenous tourism development (Figure 3.1) provides the framework for the comparative case study analysis. Her model defines the

Sphere of Influence

	Nation State	Tourism Industry	Ethnic Group
1.Characteristics of Development Process	autonomy of ethnic group	marketing of ethnic forms	social/cultural response
2. Paradoxes Encountered	state regulation vs ethnic control	freezing culture vs cultural evolution	cultural pluralism vs integration
3. Strategies for Sustainable Ethnic Tourism	as above	as above	as above

Figure 3.1. Conceptual model of indigenous tourism development
(Based on Swain, 1989: 37)

units of analysis as being the state, the industry, and the indigenous group associated with ethnic tourism development. Using this analytical framework, Swain discusses the characteristics of the ethnic tourism development process, the paradoxes encountered, and the proposed resolutions to the paradoxes in her original model of ethnic tourism in the *Sani* region of China. A modified version of this framework is used to compare the practice and the prospects for ethnic tourism in Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park. Although there are major differences in population and political and economic systems, ethnic tourism development in China and Canada has important common characteristics. Ethnic minorities involved in tourism face a push for change based on the commercial dynamics of tourism. Paradoxically the attraction of the ethnic group is based on the expectation that the minority populations will stay quaintly "ethnic" (Swain, 1989). Therefore, for both countries, a major challenge for ethnic tourism is balancing socioeconomic integration with ethnic cultural distinction. Swain's model offers a framework

from which these issues are explored.

In Swain's model, the focus is on ethnic tourism destinations, necessary modifications of the model were made for its application to this study. The new framework illustrates the interrelationship of the primary groups in ethnic tourism development with characteristics of the development process; the paradoxes encountered, and strategies for sustainable ethnic tourism.

Characteristic of process

One critical characteristic of ethnic interpretive centre development is the actual control an ethnic minority group can exert in the process. If the group has legally recognized power in determining local use of the national infrastructure (e.g. education, communication, transportation and health systems), and exploitation of natural resources, then it is likely to play a strong role in its own tourism development. The cooperation of local, national and international concerns is a central issue of this kind of tourism development. Political autonomy plays a key role in this development process which benefits the minority groups. The issue is whether or not sufficient ethnic minority control is exercised. How should ethnic minority cultures be marketed? What are the social/cultural responses to tourism development and what are the associated implications for sustainability?

Paradoxes encountered

The paradoxes of ethnic tourism occur because of inherent contradictions between conservation and change associated with the process of development. This paradoxical nature is cross-cut by the fact that viable cultures are not static, but evolve through time.

A restructuring of political relationships occurs which places the state in the position of promoter and regulator of cultural forms, while validating ethnic minority people's awareness and legal rights. Standardization of ethnic culture for tourist consumption may decrease the authenticity of ethnic tourism. The tourists often expect the locals to be quaintly non-modern or "frozen" while the locals cannot avoid social/cultural change through tourism and other contact. Cultural commodification encourages packaging of ethnic goods and lifestyle by ethnic groups. Tourist products tend to be more standardized and facilities institutionalized. Tourism activity can accelerate ethnic group socioeconomic change which eventually affects cultural identity. Cultural pluralism is important for the state and the industry to develop ethnic tourism, yet political and economic infrastructure integrates ethnic minority people into the majority society, which is more often a push toward integration of an ethnic group, and assimilation of the individuals.

Strategies

Within an ethnic group, strong geo-political organization and economic incentives to stay "quaintly" ethnic to attract tourists might offer resolution of these tourism paradoxes. In both the Chinese and Canadian situations, articulation of the state economy, the expansion of the tourism industry, and the local involvement in the development processes will all shape the outcome of ethnic tourism. According to Swain (1989), culturally and economically sustainable tourism development must fit the local society and make cultural sense. The ethnic people themselves must own the process of local tourism development, and the state in turn, may benefit from cultural diversity in both an economic and a social/cultural sense.

C. Comparative case study approach

A comparative case study analysis approach was chosen as a way of articulating similarities and differences that will not only provide specific insights into each attraction but will help to clarify the value of ethnic interpretive centres to sustainable ethnic tourism. These methods are designed to go beyond a basic description of the similarities and differences between the two case studies to suggesting future directions of sustainable ethnic tourism attractions.

Both case study subjects are consistent with MacCannell's (1973) description of touristic space and with Leiper's (1990) definition of a tourist attraction. From a tourism perspective, they represent a specific physical setting that is marked and designed to facilitate ethnic tourism. These sites represent the "front stage" of an ethnic community but at the same time they provide tourists with the opportunity to interact with an ethnic group and go beyond pure spectatorship. Yunnan Folk Culture Village in Kunming of southwest China is compared to Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatoon, Canada. The two sites are both ethnic tourism attractions but they also feature many differences in terms of environmental context. The modified Swain's (1989) model is used in a systematic comparison of these cases.

The comparative case study analysis is based on a survey research that is structured in three phases corresponding to the three subproblems. Specifically these three phases involve: a) the examination of the ethnic tourism development process of the two selected attractions, b) the consideration of the major social/cultural issues associated with ethnic tourism development as reflected in the practices of the two attractions and, c) the identification and assessment of the strategies for the resolution of these issues at each of the two attractions. The insights are articulated, based on a comparison of the findings

associated with each attraction across the three subproblems.

f). Data collection and analysis procedure

The data required to develop the comparative case study descriptions of each respective ethnic tourism attraction come from two main sources. Primary data were drawn from the opinions of selected representatives from the various participant groups associated with the attractions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted based on purposive sampling in the qualitative approach. Purposive sampling is a technique "to get the most comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon." "It may consist of sampling extreme or deviant cases as well as typical cases. Maximum variation is explored... One might choose for particular reasons to sample critical cases or politically important or sensitive cases" (Henderson, 1991: 133). Specific individuals for these interviews were identified, based on the analysis of the printed materials and upon the recommendations of the chief executive officers of each attraction, to view the critical issues outlined in the comparative study framework. A combined total of fifteen interviews were conducted with at least two representatives for the three typical cases: the state level of tourism planning and management, the attraction itself, and the featured ethnic groups (Appendix 1). Each interview subject was ensured to receive a copy of the interview consent form, which was required by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation of University of Alberta (Appendix 2, 3). These interviews were recorded on audio tapes and then transcribed to facilitate analysis. Field notes were made during the research trips to record the researcher's observations of the two cases. These observation records provide factual descriptions of the study subjects and add to primary interview data for the case study analysis. Secondary data were drawn from a general review of printed documents:

facility management plans, marketing strategies, interpretive programme descriptions, tourism promotional materials, and other records of a similar nature. This data was used for the interpretation of the interviews.

A typological approach (Henderson, 1991) was chosen for the analysis of the research data. A typological approach "helps to divide a phenomenon into parts". "It is used broadly [to make] possible categorical judgements which might include patterns, themes, or theories. [With this approach], one can do analysis on the basis of either verification of existing theoretical frameworks or the generation of substantive theory" (Henderson, 1991: 146). The data analysis was conducted on the basis of verification of Swain's (1989) framework. This typological data analysis approach describes three categories (as shown in Figure 3.1), which helps to divide the phenomena of ethnic tourism development of the two attractions into pre-selected categories. Each interview transcript was examined, then sorted to fit into the set categories. These sorted items were also coded with page numbers corresponding to the interview report hard copies to help the researcher go back for reference when the actual writing was in progress.

The interview subjects are given pseudonyms in the thesis so that their comments will remain confidential. While much of the printed materials was solicited through correspondence with each respective attraction, data collection trips were made to the two attractions to conduct the interviews. Methodological concerns related to language and other cultural barriers were partially addressed in the data collection process through the supervision of Professor Tom Hinch, a Canadian, who has an active aboriginal tourism research programme and with the researcher himself, a Chinese national, with work experience in the Chinese tourism industry. These barriers were further reduced by the guidance of Professors Tim Burton and James Dempsey, and the help from Dr. Wes Heber,

with their respective expertise in policy and planning, native studies, and anthropology.

IV. CASE STUDY 1: YUNNAN FOLK CULTURE VILLAGE

This chapter contains a description of Yunnan Folk Culture Village and reports the findings related to the review of documents and the interviews conducted at this Chinese tourism attraction. Consistent with the research problem and subproblems, this chapter will present: a general description of the attraction; an overview of the process of development; perspectives on the major social/cultural issues; and, perspectives of the identified strategies for development.

A. Yunnan Folk Culture Village: Epitome of the southwest minority cultures

Tourists are drawn to Yunnan province, an ethnic minority region, by the tremendously varied scenery and unique indigenous people. The ethnic minority groups are involved in tourism through the commodification of ethnicity (Swain, 1990). They have varying degrees of input in the government's tourism plans for the region. Until recently, the province's remoteness, together with a tortuous transportation system, kept tourism activity low in some of its ethnic autonomous areas. However, the central and provincial governments plan to develop tourism in these remote areas (Hua, 1994). The establishment of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village represents a significant step in this development process.

The Folk Culture Village is located in the west suburb of Kunming, the capital city of China's southwestern province, Yunnan (Figure 4.1). Tourists are attracted to the Village because of the rich and colourful heritage of the ethnic groups resident in Yunnan. The whole site covers 2000 *mu* (approximately 230 acre). It was opened in 1992 and by October 1994 had hosted 1.4 million domestic and overseas tourists (Li, 1994a). At present, eight

Figure 4.1. Maps of China, Yunnan, and Southeast Asia countries
(Based on Wang: 1971: ix)

ethnic sections have been set up and 17 others will be completed by 1996 in order to reflect the 25 ethnic minority cultures of Yunnan province. The focus of the Village is on selected aspects of the minority peoples' cultures, as reflected in their contemporary lives. These include residential buildings representative of the architecture associated with various ethnic groups, interpretive staff in colourful ethnic dress, mock wedding ceremonies, festivals, dances and the music of the Yunnan ethnic minorities. The Village combines exhibitions of ethnic culture and various ethnic activities to meet the tourist interests and demands. Despite the economic rationale for establishing the site, one of the key functions of the Village is to provide a focal point for the presentation of existing cultures of ethnic groups in the province, thereby promoting and strengthening ethnic diversity (CNTA, 1994). In addition, the Village is expected to provide impetus to economic and cultural exchange between the ethnic minorities, and with people from other parts of China and the world. As Zhongzhi, a manager of the Village said:

> ...the Village functions as a window on ethnic autonomous areas. It presents ethnic cultures and customs to tourists, while at the same time creating an opportunity for ethnic people to learn about the other cultures of tourists from other parts of the world. Local minority groups benefit economically and culturally from this two-way exchange process realized through the tourism activities inside the Village.

The purpose of establishing the Folk Culture Village runs counter to the "honeypot" approach (Ryan, 1991) under which an ethnic tourism attraction is designed to relieve the tourist pressure on sensitive ethnic areas. In the Southwest China situation, this attraction was purposely created to introduce and encourage tourists to visit the hinterland areas of ethnic minority peoples. Considering the present stage of development, the central and the provincial governments plan to use tourism as a tool to draw foreign investment to the surrounding ethnic areas for economic development (Hua, 1994). The intent of the Village is to introduce more tourists to the surrounding remote ethnic areas rather than to explicitly

or implicitly discourage travel to the surrounding hinterland ethnic regions. However, as tourism is still at its early stage of development in the province, the opportunity still exists to use the Village as a "honeypot" to reduce the tourist pressure on the surrounding sensitive ethnic areas. But this is not an easy task. It needs to be recognized that the impacts of an ethnic tourism attraction will be strongly influenced by the social, cultural background and economic status of the participants, as well as being conditioned by the tourists' length of stay and motivation for travelling (Pearce, 1982). The remainder of this chapter presents a case study analysis of the attraction in three phases corresponding to the three subproblems. The analysis is expected to provide some insights into the sustainable development of the Village.

B. Phase 1: Process of development

Ethnic autonomy exercised

Ethnic autonomy has been the official policy of the Chinese government ever since its establishment in 1949 (The People' Daily, 1995: 6). However, the Chinese political system makes it difficult for ethnic autonomy to be completely exercised. For instance, China has five minority autonomous regions and 25 provinces directly under the central government. But, in every minority autonomous region there are administrative authorities such as the regional foreign trade bureau, the education bureau, and the tourism bureau. These specific administrative units are not only controlled by the regional autonomous administrations, but also supervised by the Central Government Foreign Trade Ministry, Education Ministry, and Tourism Administration. Therefore, more often than not, the regional autonomous administrative forces have to consult the central government regarding the supervision of these government-control regional administrations.

The Yunnan Folk Culture Village is a part of a central government tourism project--Kunming Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone (Figure 4.2). This project was initiated by China's [Central] State Council in April 1992, and controlled by China National Tourism Administration. Since the Folk Culture Village is under the Administrative Commission of Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone, the local ethnic autonomous administration has little control over the site (Li, 1994a).

The Yunnan Folk Culture Village is directed by the Administrative Commission of Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone in terms of its policy and regulation. But the Village itself is an independent economic entity, and responsible for securing the construction and operation budget for each of the ethnic sections that it contains. Of the eight ethnic sections completed, two were built with government loans and six others were jointly funded by the government and bank loans. At present, the attraction is still in its early stages of development. Its ability to pay back the loans is limited. In addition, the current high inflation rate makes it difficult to complete the remaining 17 sections in the Village. Consequently, the management board of the Village is seeking alternative arrangements to complete the rest of the project. Besides obtaining government and bank loans, the board is planning overseas and domestic joint-venture and joint-management projects. As a part of this strategy, the local ethnic minority governments and companies will be invited to participate in these projects. According to Yang, a manager of the Village, the local minorities are interested in these projects:

> The local minority governments and companies are very interested in the Folk Culture Village. They often ask us, when and where their own sections will be completed in the attraction. So, we are thinking of inviting them to participate in some projects. We can provide them with space, and let them join in with fiscal investment. Then we will operate certain ethnic sections in the form of stock share holdings. According to the percentage of the stock holding, we distribute responsibility and profit.

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.2. Programme chart of Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone (DNTVZ: 1992: 25-26)

To date, however, the development process of the Village has been strongly influenced by the central government and the Han ethnic majority. The majority Han people tend to dominate in their roles as planners and decision makers, while ethnic minority people work mainly in operational positions (Figure 4.3). The majority Han people

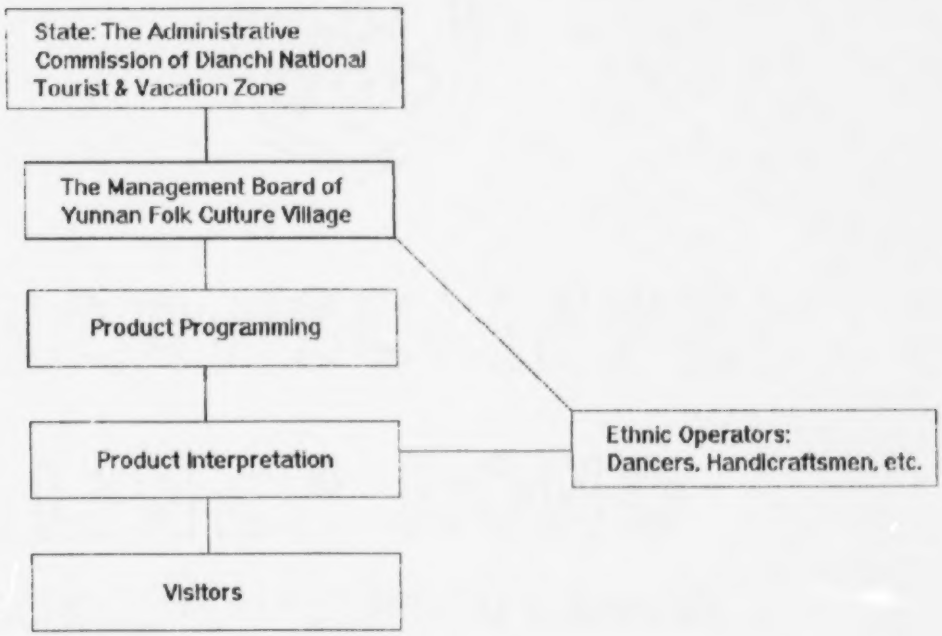

State: The Administrative Commission of Dianchi National Tourist & Vacation Zone
The Management Board of Yunnan Folk Culture Village
Product Programming
Product Interpretation
Visitors
Ethnic Operators: Dancers, Handicraftsmen, etc.

Figure 4.3. The current decision-making and development process of Yunnan Folk Culture Village

hold most of the positions in relevant government agencies, with a small percentage of minority people such as Yang who is of minority descent. Final planning and management authority is vested in the Administrative Commission of Dianchi National Tourist & Vacation Zone and its local representative, the Management Board of Yunnan Folk Culture Village. These bodies control the development and management of the Village. In terms of operation, the Management Board of Yunnan Folk Culture Village is responsible for selecting ethnic employees from the surrounding areas to work on the site. At the present time, ethnic people are mostly employed as singers, dancers, performers, waiters and waitress, handicraft makers and souvenir shop attendants. However, that situation might change with the growth of the tourism industry. Because the central government is currently encouraging the participation and investment of ethnic minority groups and individuals, increasing numbers of minority groups and individuals can be expected to become involved in tourism development. As long as the commercial economy continues to grow, the Village will be gradually taken over and managed through the interaction of government agencies from national to local levels, international private tourist companies, and local ethnic minority entrepreneurs. The future of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village appears to include members of ethnic minorities in managerial positions. Eventually ethnic minorities may indeed have control of their tourism business in and around this attraction. This control is a critical characteristic of ethnic tourism, as Swain (1989) writes:

> A critical characteristic of indigenous tourism development is the actual control an ethnic group can exert in the process. If an ethnic group has legally recognized power in determining local use of the national infrastructure (education, communication, transportation and health systems), and exploitation of natural resources, then it is likely to play a role in its own tourism development. (Swain, 1989: 36-37)

At the present time, however, there is limited evidence of ethnic control in the Yunnan Folk Culture Village. It is essential that the Village ensure increasing ethnic

control if it is to be sustainable over the long term. As shown in Figure 4.4, there may be

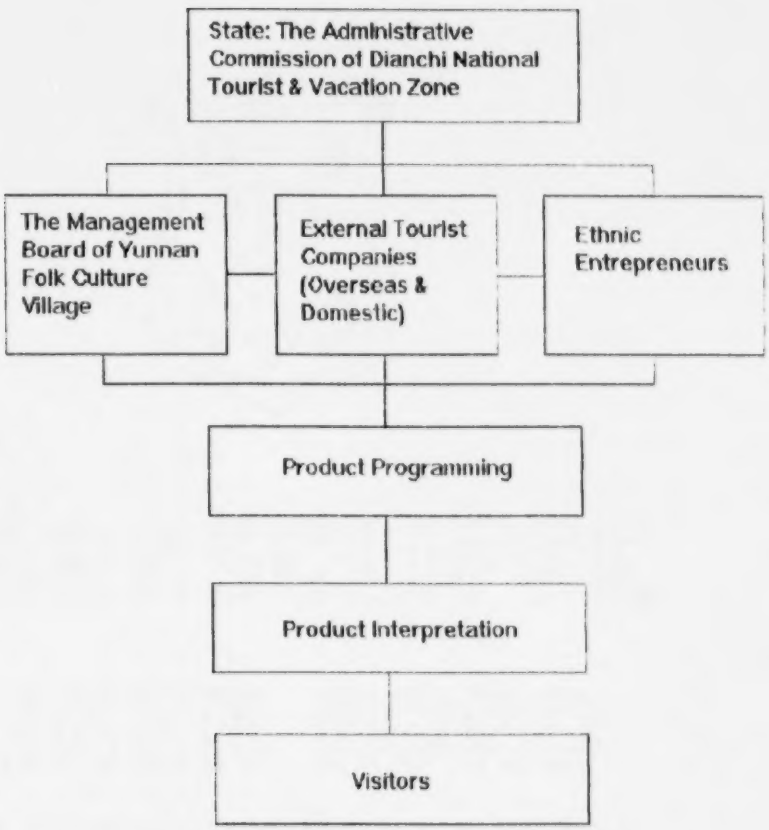

State: The Administrative Commission of Dianchi National Tourist & Vacation Zone
The Management Board of Yunnan Folk Culture Village
External Tourist Companies (Overseas & Domestic)
Ethnic Entrepreneurs
Product Programming
Product Interpretation
Visitors

Figure 4.4. Possible future management hierarchy of Yunnan Folk Culture Village

three groups of tourism developers for the future of the Village. Government agencies, tourist companies, and ethnic entrepreneurs make decisions respectively on development according to their own roles in tourism. Collectively, all those independent decision makers will determine the potential of tourism. They are all action groups that facilitate the operation of the Village by setting objectives, building infrastructures, and managing programmes. Without any one of them, the Village would not function well. As it moves toward ethnic minority management, the Village will gradually benefit from the ethnic political autonomy that will emerge.

Ethnic image marketed

The number of tourists attracted to the Yunnan Folk Culture Village is an indication of the importance of this site. Tourists come to the Village from more than twenty countries and from all over China (CNTA, 1993). Government plans call for a multi-functional, high international standard tourist and vacation zone (Hua, 1994). As part of this government development project, the Yunnan Folk Culture Village is being promoted by the National Tourism Administration in its current advertising campaign for "China Folklore '95" (CNTA, 1994). Ethnicity is being used by the Chinese tourism industry as a primary draw for domestic and overseas tourists. For example, China National Tourism Administration (CNTA, 1994) gives the following description of the attraction in its promotional brochure for "China Folklore '95":

> It features replicas of the folk cultures of the 25 ethnic minorities living in Yunnan. All the buildings are of life-size...Besides appreciating the different architectural styles, visitors also get to know the customs of different ethnic groups and enjoy local song and dance performances. If they are interested, they can participate in water-splashing festival of the Dai and torch festival of the Yi. (CNTA, 1994: 62)

Although the attraction presents only replicas of ethnic cultures, its unique location close

to ethnic minority areas provides a high degree of authenticity, based on the rich cultures of those areas. As Zhongzhi, a manager at the Village states:

> ...the Folk Culture Village tries to present some authenticity of Yunnan ethnic minority cultures and customs. Through careful selecting process, very good aspects of ethnic cultures are being systematically protected, developed, and presented to the tourists.

The Village presently has three functions: to interpret the province's cultural resources; to provide an enjoyable and stimulating visitor experience; and, to create a setting for environmental education. There is possibility that over the long term, it will work as a "honeypot" to produce a design alternative to mass erosion of culture resources by leading mass tourists away from the delicate cultural and natural environments of the surrounding areas. Thus it may achieve the stated goal to "systematically protect and develop the very good aspects of ethnic cultures" as Zhongzhi points out.

According to him, the management board of the Folk Culture Village promotes its culture programmes in different ways:

> We hold traditional ethnic festivals or celebrations, and invite the media to come and help promote the attraction. For example, China Central TV, Hong Kong Star TV Chinese, and Radio Beijing have been invited to come. In the local area, we send our representatives to tour operators, travel agencies, and hotels, for promotional activities. Our representatives also go to government units, universities, companies and factories to present and distribute promotional materials.

However, in the marketing and promotion process, the Village pays special attention to presenting "the healthy and progressive aspects of ethnic cultures". As Hong, an ethnic tour sales manager, points out:

> In the Folk Culture Village, all the programmes are supposed to reflect healthy and progressive aspects of minority cultures. Certain activities related to religious or traditional piety are not included in the culture presentations. I do not think this selection process reduces the authenticity of culture activities presented. Because tourists do not need to see the exclusive part of our culture, neither should they request it. I believe in every culture there are certain aspects which are exclusive to outsiders. Not

> to intrude these areas is the basic requirement for tourists to respect ethnic cultures. So we [people working in tourism industry] are committed to teach tourists before they enter the Village, or actual ethnic areas, the basic knowledge of ethnic minority cultures and customs. The tourists are supposed to know what they can and cannot do while touring these places. The tourists are taught that they must respect minority cultures and customs.

The Chinese people believe their cultures and sense of values are very different from those of Western countries. Although the Chinese people consider that retention of certain traditions and customs to be normal, exposing them to outsiders would be extremely abnormal and offensive. But here the words "healthy and progressive" cause some confusion. They may lead people to understand that the aspect of culture exposed to outsiders is "healthy and progressive", while those aspects not presented to outsiders as "unhealthy and unprogressive". The following example clarifies this confusion.

Nude river bathing is part of Dai nationality life style. It is a custom handed down through generations due to historical and climatic conditions faced by the Dai people. Because of the poor health care system in the past, the Dai people used to be vulnerable to a regional tropical disease which they call "hot disease". In order to avoid the disease, the Dai people gradually formed the habit of bathing in the river several times a day so as to keep clean and healthy. The Dai women are considered very pretty, especially while wearing their traditional *tong qun (*a long skirt which presents a nice shape of the body). Many Chinese legends, novels, prose, and poems have beautifully described the Dai women bathing in the river. These references are prevalent in the Chinese literature and art. As a result, an almost mythical image has developed of the Dai women: slowly taking off their *tong qun* while descending down into the river, wrapping their *tong qun* over the heads as if wearing beautiful head ornaments, and finally bathing in the river. Nowadays the Dai health care system has improved a lot, and the "hot disease" is no longer a threat to health. While the Dai people still keep their traditional bathing habit, this unique and important

custom of the Dai life has not been included in the attraction's programmes. As Yang explains:

> I have been to Los Angles. I know there is a nude beach. But in China, our culture and customs are much different. Nude bathing or anything like that cannot be presented in our tourist attractions or resort facilities... The Dai people's bathing habit is a life style originated from environmental conditions. Actually the Dai males and females never bathe in the river at the same time. Exposing the human body is not our culture. We cannot use our customs and life styles to cater to quaint curiosity of the Western tourists, nor to lead them to erotic attractions. We have a lot of good and beautiful cultures, why should we use this nude bathing just for catering to the Western tourists' curiosity? Our oriental culture is not like that. Our majority tourists come from Asian countries, and many of them are domestic tourists. Shall we direct our development target to the Westerners and forget our own people? ...The ethnic minority people will be very happy if tourists come to see the progressive elements of their life, such as the rise of their living standard, new fridge, washing machines, and colour TVs at their homes. If tourists come just for watching their old customs like nude bathing, they will feel insulted.

Under the guiding principle of the government, and given its position of control, the Folk Culture Village aims to market the image of ethnic minorities as being "healthy and progressive". The Village is intended to present the diverse ethnic cultures and customs as well as the unity of Chinese nationalities. At the same time, it is being used to encourage economic development of the province. However, historically, the majority Han society considered the minority culture and customs as being primitive and backward. Government documents and official statements have frequently applied inappropriate notions such as backward, unprogressive, to ethnic customs and cultures (Yang and Luo, 1992). If the ethnic minorities continuously get involved in the social and political life of the mainstream society through their participation in tourism and other economic activities, they will no longer accept the perception that they are primitive and backward. This process of integrating ethnic minority people into the majority society through tourism suggests that some control by ethnic people over the Village's development and management eventually

may be exercised. In terms of sustainable development, the attraction will benefit from some degree of ethnic control. If the Village proceeds in a style which is supported by ethnic people, tension is likely to be avoided between the majority society and the ethnic groups as well as between hosts and guests. The resulting tourist experience will be enhanced and an associated increase in visitation is likely. If the management board of the Village is to achieve this promise of increasing ethnic control, it will have to consult the ethnic people about programme design and selection, in terms of culture forms and presentation styles. Misinterpretation and confusion of certain notions regarding the ethnic minority cultures will therefore be avoided, and the Village may retain authenticity and achieve sustainability.

Ethnic responses revealed

The creation of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village has contributed toward the rapid growth of tourism in the province. Since the 1980s, tourism has been a significant factor in the province's economic performance and national as well as international relations. According to Hua (1994), the revenue generated by tourism in the province reached 100 million US dollars in 1993. In 1994, 11.4 million overseas and domestic tourists visited Yunnan Province. It has become the eighth most visited destination in China. With a growing provincial infrastructure of transportation routes, economic diversification, and education, isolation is less of a factor for ethnic minorities than in the past. Local areas that have been targeted for tourism development face increasing numbers of temporary "guests" who are either non-local Chinese or overseas tourists. As ethnicity is being used for attracting more tourists, not surprisingly, the ethnic minority groups are undergoing dramatic social/cultural and economic changes:

> ...our plane arrived in Kunming on time. The first impression out of the Kunming International Airport is the feeling that I were in one of those remote border cities in Shen Chong-wen's novels [a modern Chinese novelist and essayist, whose literary works relate to ethnic life and customs of southwest China in the 1940s]. Everything that comes to my eyes looked plain and pure, reminding me of events of the distant past...
>
> The airport shuttle bus had already been occupied by two white tourists when I got on. As we drove into the city, I could see many foreign tourists wandering along the streets. It seemed there were more foreign tourists in Kunming than in any other provincial capital to which I had been in China... Even our hotel, the Camellia Hotel of Kunming, had received many foreign tourists, although it was only a two-star hotel. Most of those foreign tourists were from Europe and North America. They were young backpackers. They walked, or rode bicycles, wandering freely among the local people...
>
> The city looks like a huge construction site, everywhere I could see new buildings rising up. Holiday Inn, Sheraton International have already built their hotels in Kunming. However, just next to those luxurious hotels, there was evidence of under-development. Horse carts are still being used for transporting commodities, which made me feel time had stopped fifty years before. However, the flourishing tourism here could be comparable to Beijing and Shanghai. And the increasing problems of prostitution and drugs may be catching up with New York or Los Angeles...(Li, 1994b)

The impact of tourism and its consequent social, cultural, and economic changes have already caused some resentment from older generations, as in Yin's case. Yin is a girl of Bai nationality. She is a vendor at Butterfly Spring, a well-known tourist site in Dali Bai Autonomous County. Her vending business involves renting Bai ethnic clothes to tourists for photo sittings. She says that she does not want to work in Yunnan Folk Culture Village:

> ...because old people say that outside world is terrible. The old people believe that young generation is vulnerable to the influence of pubs, KTV clubs, prostitutes and drug users out there in cities. It is particularly dangerous for girls to work in big cities.

Although Bai people love singing and dancing, Yin thinks singing and dancing in the Folk Culture Village for tourists is "dirty". She dare not go to Kunming and find a job there in the Village. If she did, she would never be able to return home, because the old people will punish her. The old people will look down upon her:

> ...old people are afraid that the young generation will forget ethnic traditions and customs.

Despite her negative opinion of working in the Culture Village, Yin has a very positive attitude toward tourists visiting her home town. Perhaps it is due to the fact that her business is related to tourism development:

> ... We like to see tourists coming to our town. They come because they appreciate "Five Golden Flowers" [a well-known Bai legend in China]. They like our culture...We like tourists wearing our clothes to have pictures taken. We even invite some tourists to our homes... We are learning how to do business with tourists. In the past, our Bai people only knew how to do farm work. There are a lot of things to learn, which is very good. Bai people used to be scared and would run away when they saw Han people or foreign tourists. But now, we are not scared, and more people come into business, because we know that business will help us get richer.

The young members of ethnic minorities are likely to be willing to accept those changes, as in the following cases. Hong is a young woman of Dai ethnicity. She is a tour sales manager of a travel agency in Kunming. She believes that ethnic minority people are learning modern social and economic skills through their involvement in tourism. Tourism is helping minority people see alternatives to the development of their culture and economy. In her view, tourism is liberating Dai people from traditional farming life, while at the same time building their sense of cultural pride, and strengthening their ethnic identity:

> In the attraction, there is our Dai section with restaurants serving Dai food, souvenir shops selling Dai arts and crafts. Those restaurants and shops are run by Dai people. In the Village our people are learning business skills while presenting our rich culture heritage. Tourists will not only experience our culture, but also feel how we are proud of it. We are very glad to let the world know our existence. Some backpackers will go into our ethnic areas after touring the Dai section in the Culture Village. The backpackers are very young, and will be the future of the world. They will tell the world about our culture and existence. Eventually the whole world will know that there is a Dai nationality in China, although we are a small ethnic group of only one million people.

Yanhua is an ethnic programme hostess working in the Village. She also expresses a positive opinion of the site. According to her, the Village is authentic and reflects

essential elements of her culture. She believes that tourism will help her ethnic group achieve the goal of cultural and economic development. She reveals her pride of working in the Village by stating that the employment gives her "an exciting opportunity of seeing the world" outside her remote ethnic village. She has ambitions to become a manager of the Village, although she expresses concern about her lack of education. However, she is determined that she will return to her ethnic home area after working in the Village for several years, to make her home "as good as the capital city, Kunming".

Active participation in economic activities appears to be the initial response of ethnic minorities to tourism. Economic benefits brought by tourism have considerable impact on ethnic life. In ethnic minority areas with limited arable land for farming, tourism is particularly appealing as an income generator. In the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, the marketing of ethnic arts and crafts is prominent. These commercialized souvenirs are manufactured by ethnic minorities in the surrounding areas. For example, in Lunan, a county one and half hours by bus from Kunming, over 1000 households derive income from tourism (Swain, 1989). The Sani people (an ethnic group) living in Lunan County commoditize their ethnicity along two paths: a) local marketing of ethnic goods and the provision of tourist services such as "authentic" transportation in horse carts, guiding services, dance performances, foods, and accommodations; and b) circular migration to Kunming to sell ethnic goods to hotels, souvenir shops, tourism attractions, or directly to tourists. Tourism has liberated ethnic minority people from traditional farming. It provides them an important economic development alternative to their traditional agriculturally based peasant society.

Circular migration of ethnic minority people, moving into the capital city Kunming for employment and business opportunities then returning home, represents another

response of ethnic minorities to tourism. In the Folk Culture Village, most of the operational positions are occupied by ethnic minority people. Zhongzhi, a manager, suggests that "those minority employees are usually very young. They are from surrounding ethnic areas." However, due to the Chinese labour control system, the ethnic minority people can only be employed on a contract basis. In China, to find a stable job in a city, one must be a permanent resident of the city. This situation contributes to the phenomenon of circular migration of contract workers. Zhongzhi expands on his earlier comments by explaining that:

> The ethnic minority employees are very young, usually around the ages of sixteen and eighteen, such as dancers and singers. But this kind of job is only for young people. It means that the minority boys and girls are taking advantage of their youth. They have to go back to their home areas after working in the attraction for three years or so.

The developers of the Village are hoping to lobby for change in China's labour control system that would correct this problem. Internally, they plan to promote some qualified ethnic minority employees to managerial positions by arranging long-term employment contracts, but this idea is still under discussion and will take time to implement.

Another cause for the circular migration is a shift in the focus of handicraft marketing from local markets to provincial markets. Circular migration from local areas to the provincial capital by ethnic minority group members selling tourist goods is a growing trend in the late 1980's (Swain, 1989). In this circular migration, ethnic women play the major role:

> Sani [an ethnic group] women rotate stays averaging ten days in Kunming, staying overnight in dormitories or with family, then return home...usually travelling by public bus, [exporting their tourist goods to the provincial capital]...And development of new Sani selling sites at tourist attractions in the greater Kunming area indicate that this [marketing ethnic handicrafts] is an expanding enterprise. (Swain, 1989: 36)

In the Village as well as at the "Butterfly Spring" in Dali, the author noted that almost all

vendors selling ethnic arts and crafts are women. Very few men are involved in this kind of business. Ethnic women appear to be less involved in agriculture than they were before the tourism boom in the province. It appears to be economically viable for ethnic women to spend their time making and selling tourist goods. In ethnic minority society, women are usually in a lower position than men, as the tour sales manager Hong claims. One consequence of the new gender roles involved in the booming tourism industry is to likely raise ethnic minority women's social and political status, and lead to dramatic social change.

Ethnic culture forms being influenced by tourism represent another new phenomenon in ethnic minority cultures. Ethnic dancing and singing are institutionalized for performances in the Village. As Yanhua, the Village programme hostess observes:

> ... We learn new minority dance routines at the Village. These routines are related to ethnic poetic songs, myth, or way of life. Some of the dances are part of our traditional festivals, such as the Yi people's Torch Festival, the Dai people's Water-splashing Festival, and the Bai people's March Street Festival. The audience like our dance because it is unique.

Yanhua's comments suggest that at the Village, ethnic minority art performances have been promoted to tourists as unique culture programmes. It is a process of institutionalizing ethnic minority art and culture forms, and will have significant influence on ethnic minority life. Ethnic response to the process indicates that commodification of ethnicity is becoming part of ethnic minority people's life. In each ethnic section of the Village, there are ethnic vendors selling ethnic handicrafts to tourists. These handicrafts produced for tourists are based on ethnic goods and include baby carriers, clothing, shoes, and bags. Other items are embellished with ethnic style embroidery such as umbrella covers, baby clothes, aprons, and cushions or embroidered squares. The best sellers are handmade bags with typical ethnic features, and having variable sizes, designs and prices. Evaluation of tourist goods for colour, design and quality of hand needlework are important

to ethnic vendors and are reflected in their bottomline pricing when bargaining. Needlework aesthetics is an integral aspect of ethnic identity, as well as a potential source of tourism income (Swain, 1990).

These ethnic responses to tourism reveal one of the central issues in sustainable ethnic tourism development: the evolution, maintenance and feedback of ethnic forms marketed to tourists. Planners and decision makers will have to adjust the way in which unique ethnic cultural traditions are being presented and commoditized for tourist consumption, at the same time, being protected to survive and prosper in the decades ahead. This issue has broader implications for the understanding of ethnic identity and participation in the tourism industry.

The study of the development process reveals that the Yunnan Folk Culture Village is not a purposely built "honeypot" but in practice it has the potential to become one. Figure 4.5 illustrates an exchange process generated by the Village between the hosts and guests, and the Village and the surrounding ethnic minority hinterland areas. It illustrates the Village's potential for becoming a "honeypot" which would generate the tourist flow that would in turn encourage cultural, economic and political changes to ethnic minority societies. These changes are not only direct results of ethnic tourism development, but also are based on its inherent benefits and costs (Figure 2.2). Properly dealing with those changes involves close consideration of certain social/cultural issues related to the development process.

C. Phase 2: Major issues

Nation-state regulation versus ethnic control

Finding an appropriate balance between nation-state regulation versus ethnic control

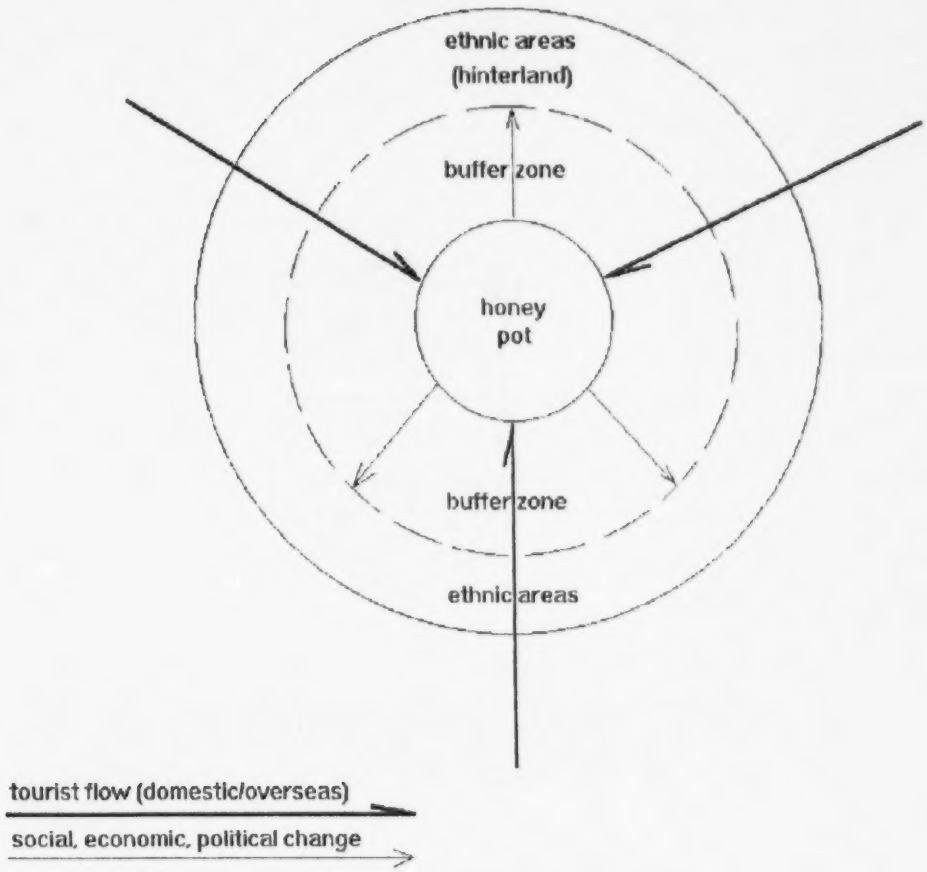


Figure 4.5. Cultural, economic, political exchange process between tourist flow and ethnic regions

is one of the major issues facing the Folk Culture Village. Although political autonomy is encouraged by the Chinese government, the country's political and labour control systems contradict this goal in different ways, creating a significant gap between policy and practice in ethnic tourism development. Examples where an ethnic-control approach to development has been successfully applied are rare, in spite of an abundance of policy statements and

documents advocating this approach (Yang and Luo, 1992). The specific case of Yunnan Folk Culture Village illustrates some of the barriers that exist to implementing ethnic control of tourism development.

China is a country of diverse ethnicity and culture. The Chinese Constitution explicitly encourages the political autonomy of ethnic minority people. At the provincial level, there are five minority autonomous regions. At the lower levels there are minority autonomous counties and cities. In practice, however, autonomy often cannot be achieved due to the barriers created by the Chinese political system. For example, an ethnic minority autonomous region functions at a provincial level directly under the Central Government State Council, but its administrative mechanisms are not under the sole authority of this level of government. Examples of shared administrative mechanisms include the Regional Foreign Trade Bureau, Education Bureau, and Tourism Bureau. These lower level administrative units are also accountable to the Central State Foreign Trade Ministry, Education Ministry, and Tourism Administration. As a result, the regional autonomous administrative authorities frequently cannot make final decisions regarding regional affairs. The Yunnan Folk Culture Village is funded both by the provincial government and China National Tourism Administration. It is supervised by the provincial government, but at the same time, it belongs to the Kunming Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone; a tourism development project of China National Tourism Administration. In the Chinese political system, ethnic autonomy is only exercised within the parameters set by the central government. There is no complete ethnic autonomy and neither is there complete ethnic control of tourism.

Government regulations also create barriers to ethnic control in tourism development. Chinese citizenship and human resource management regulations make it

extremely difficult for people to move from rural areas to urban places. Without permanent urban residency, it is difficult for anyone to get a long term job in a city. Since most ethnic minority people are farmers, the only urban tourism employment available to them is seasonal or contract-based jobs. Almost all managerial positions represent long term employment, while operational positions are short term and contract based. Most ethnic minority people are therefore employed on the operation side, while the majority Han people are the major decision makers and planners. Nevertheless, the growth of tourism is pushing the authorities to "make some breakthrough in the labour control system" as Yang states. Ethnic minority people are likely to move into some managerial positions in the future of the Folk Culture Village. Two possibilities may exist. The growth of tourism may push the government into adjusting its regulations to allow more autonomy to ethnic groups. This approach will result in a more sustainable development with an increase of ethnic input related to tourism.

The other possibility is that the present political system will continue to present barriers to ethnic control of tourism, thus creating conflicts between the state and the local communities, the majority people and the minority groups, as well as tourists and hosts. This approach will reduce the sustainability of the Village and negatively influence the growth of tourism in the province. Woodely's (1993) view is that, if ethnic tourism development proceeds in a style or at a scale which is not supported by the ethnic group itself, tension is likely to develop between the ethnic minority and the majority, as well as between hosts and guests. This conflict can result in a deteriorating tourist experience, and an associated decline in visitation. Thus, ethnic control of and support for tourism is necessary to ensure the social and economic sustainability of the industry. Ethnic "participation in planning and management can lead to tourism development which is

acceptable to local residents, and therefore is more likely to be [socially and] economically sustainable" (Woodely, 1993: 139). In terms of the stages of implementing ethnic control, it is important for planners and decision makers to begin by defining which sustainable development principles can be exercised through ethnic control, and which need to be implemented at the state level. Once the role of ethnic groups in tourism development is defined, the gap between policy and application must be closed to commence an appropriate ethnic control approach. In the process of implementing ethnic control, it is also important to overcome extensive barriers. These barriers often include a lack of overall vision for the community and region in question; a lack of interest or awareness of tourism on the part of local residents; a lack of trained human resources to ensure local economic benefit from tourism; cultural barriers between tourists and hosts, and between planners and ethnic groups; and a lack of investment capital within the ethnic communities (Woodley, 1993).

Freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution

The paradoxes of ethnic tourism occur because of the inherent contradiction between conservation and change in the process of development. Guests often expect ethnic hosts to be quaintly non-modern (or "frozen") while the hosts are drawn into social/cultural change through business with tourists. The inclination to present an ethnic culture frozen in time as opposed to a dynamic ethnic culture evolving over time is another major issue the Village is facing.

In Dali, a Bai autonomous county west of Kunming, the author met a group of backpackers from Britain and the United States. They had come to China for its "different culture", and had all been to the Yunnan Folk Culture Village in Kunming. Upon reflection they each stated their preference for the ethnic experience in the remote ethnic area of Dali

over that offered in the Village: "It [experience in Dali] is more natural, more like the Chinese". Interestingly, the author met these backpackers in the so-called "foreigner street", a street where the local people run Western food restaurants and souvenir shops catering to foreign tourists' needs. While these backpackers were eating their Chinese style "Western breakfast", they told the author that they disliked the food because: "...it is very Western. We expected it would be more like the Chinese". However, just a few blocks away there were many Chinese restaurants serving typical Chinese or local ethnic foods. According to the manager of a Chinese restaurant, his customers were almost all Chinese domestic tourists, very few foreigners. Besides the food, these Western backpackers disliked "the invasion of tourism into the ethnic region". This apparent contradiction was reflected in the following:

Li: Do you find people here friendly?
Susan: Yes, very friendly.
Mark: But in the city I found people not so friendly.
Li: Why?
Mark: They [try to take advantage of tourists], like bus drivers, taxi drivers. In Beijing, I mean in Shanghai, one day, I just tried to get on a bus. At the station, the driver said "one yuan", and half way, he said "three". Then I said "no-way"!... It just makes you feel that every single journey you make in a day, you risk...
Li: Do you think what you experienced in Beijing and Shanghai will happen here with tourism development?
Cindy: I should say it's possible.
Irene: I mean tourism is really in its heyday here. They are going to build a big hotel down at the end of this block.
Susan: They are building a really nice hotel.
Li: Do you like it?
All: No!
Li: Why?
Susan: It brings mass tourists. It destroys the peace.
Irene: It is not for backpackers.
Mark: If the hotel were built up, backpackers would go to other places.
Cindy: There are always places for backpackers.

In contrast, the hosts believe that changes are unavoidable and may represent very positive elements in the destination's social and economic progress. Previously quoted

comments of ethnic minority women express this positive view. Similarly, Shuren, a former Dai aristocrat, also argues in favour of ethnic cultural evolution. In his view, preservation of ethnic culture should take two paths. On the one hand, "good" aspects of ethnic traditional culture must be protected. On the other, culture changes should be encouraged along with exchanges with other cultures:

> Our culture can only survive while evolving with world cultures. It is an unavoidable process of continuously preserving traditional culture, extracting new ideas from other cultures, and updating our own culture.

This is a complex dilemma. While tourism makes change unavoidable for ethnic minority groups, sustainable development requires some measure of stability and permanence (Butler, 1993). It is necessary, therefore, to identify what elements of tourism are subject to change, and determine if there are consistent aspects within this change.

In Yunnan Province, cultural and economic changes associated with ethnic tourism development occur in many ways. For instance, tourism encourages predictable packaging of ethnic minority goods and lifestyles by ethnic groups, as exemplified through the establishment of Yunnan Folk Culture Village. In the Folk Culture Village, as well as in other ethnic areas with growing tourism, tourist goods tend to be simpler and standardized. Ethnic clothing becomes a business uniform. Vendors often wear ethnic clothes over modern ones when selling tourist goods, since they feel if they are identifiable as ethnic minority people, their goods will be viewed as more authentic by potential customers. The arrival of tourism is accompanied by socio-economic change which in turn affects cultural identity. "What is seen as 'traditional' by the tourist may well be a new phenomenon with cultural implications for the ethnic group," (Swain, 1989: 38) such as the previously discussed gender role of ethnic women entrepreneurs. To the government, developing tourism is an important element of China's recent policy of reform and openness. Cultural and economic

changes are encouraged by marketing ethnic cultures through tourism activity. However, marketing, even if well-intentioned, can disrupt social relationships and thrust ethnic people into a whole new web of life; that of the majority culture (Walle, 1993). On a positive note, marketing ethnicity might also validate a culture and lead to recognition of ethnic people and their accomplishments (e.g. the respect tourists show for ethnic people's traditions by visiting the Village indicates that potential). Recommending and implementing appropriate strategies regarding the marketing is very complex. Ethnic traditional culture and custom often have at least two distinct roles in these strategies. One is providing economic benefits, the other is helping ethnic people cope with change largely wrought by the tourism itself. Sustainable development is more likely to be achieved if one role does not overshadow the other.

Cultural pluralism versus integration

Cultural pluralism versus integration is another major issue the Village is facing. The Chinese political and economic system makes the central government the arbitrator of relations among producers, marketers, and consumers in ethnic tourism development. It is the central government that defines the commodity and who and what constitutes an ethnic group (Yang and Luo, 1992). Since tourism stimulates the national economy and may attract foreign capital, there are definite economic advantages to promoting ethnicity for commodification. The government and the tourism industry need cultural pluralism for the long term of ethnic tourism. However, the prevailing economic infrastructure of the industry tends to integrate minority people into majority society. For example, cultural pluralism may be encouraged by the government by: requiring that ethnic languages be taught in schools; support for cultural programmes; and the subsidisation of arts and crafts

production. However, once involved in the state centralized system, there is a push toward integration of minority groups and the assimilation of individuals. Nowadays, many ethnic people in the industry can speak Chinese. Some of them can even speak English, or other foreign languages. Speaking another language provides an advantage for conducting good business with tourists. Yin, a vendor of Bai ethnicity responded to the author when asked whether she was afraid of being assimilated into the Han culture:

> No, we are not afraid. Han people are good people. They teach us *mandarin* [standard Chinese], and they tell us how to do business... If you can speak good *mandarin*, you will be able to do good business. Our old generation cannot speak *mandarin*, they can only speak Bai [an ethnic group] language. They do not know how to do business with tourists.

When ethnic tourism is used as a cultural phenomenon only for economic benefit, its long term sustainability is doubtful. For minority groups in China, ethnic tourism has the function of reinforcing their separation from the majority while integrating them into the national economy. It has the potential to promote cultural continuity of "touristized ethnic groups" (Swain, 1990: 29) or to encourage ethnic group assimilation, relating, in part, back to the degree of ethnic control in the process of culture commodification. If an ethnic group can take control over this process, then culture commodification through ethnic tourism can give the group economic power to reinforce its identity as it adapts to new definitions and cultural values for ethnic markers.

It is suggested that the whole world is a melting pot, analogous in many ways to the American example (Levitt, 1983). From this perspective, the traditional idea of nationality is being modified. No matter whether a nationality is big or small, powerful or weak, it cannot remain outside the globalization process. An ethnic group must open itself to the world to keep pace with the world progress; otherwise it will not be able to occupy a place in the forest of world nationalities. Cultural integrity versus assimilation has become an

important issue to consider in any kind of development. How to handle this issue represents an equal challenge to all nationalities. Ethnic tourism may be able to offer a promising way to deal with this challenge, but careful attention must be given to preserving the dignity of ethnic people and the viability of their cultural traditions during the culture commodification process. It is essential, therefore, that planners and decision makers adjust strategies to temper the social/cultural change so that it proceeds in accordance with the will of ethnic people, and not in response only to short-term benefits.

D. Phase 3: Strategies for addressing development issues

The strategies adopted to develop the Yunnan Folk Culture Village can be generalized into the categories of physical design and management issue resolution. The rest of the chapter reports the explicit and implicit strategies for issue resolution at the Folk Culture Village.

Physical design

Gunn (1994) suggests that site location and access are critical to the success of culture interpretive centres. First, these centres should be located on "hardened" site, away from the delicate culture resources that would be damaged from excessive human intrusion. Second, the location should be accessible by automobile and tour bus. Adequate parking around the facility would allow for volume use.

Yunnan Folk Culture Village's zoning and designing strategy demonstrates attention to these two conditions. According to Zhongzhi, one of the managers of the site, the Culture Village provides a focal spot for tourists to experience the rich Yunnan ethnic cultures in a day:

> Yunnan has the most diverse ethnicity in China, but its remoteness and weak transportation networks have made the ethnic areas largely inaccessible. Consequently, it was decided to establish the Culture Village in Kunming, the provincial transportation hub, to give more tourists the chance of experiencing the rich ethnic minority cultures.

The Village is located near the west suburb of Kunming, by the Lake Dianchi, and at the foot of the beautiful West Mountain. The landscaping and building design are a themed adaptation to the geography of the site. Structures are designed in harmony with the actual natural landscape of the site. Structural design within the Village reflects specific ethnic markers, and provides the tourists with a sense of ethnic places. For example, the rationale for the design of the Bai section of the Village (Figure 4.6 and 4.7) is expressed by Zhongzhi as being:

> ...green Changshang Mountain setting of three white pagodas at its foot is representative of Bai ethnic landscape. The Bai section inside the Culture Village chooses its location at the foot of the West Mountain close to the site, which stands for the Changshang Mountain in actual Bai ethnic area. With the replicas of the three white pagodas built in this landscape, tourists can easily identify the architecture and landscape of the section with Bai ethnicity.

In the Village, management and service facilities are located off-site where their appearance and functions do not intrude upon the aesthetics and dominant theme. Only sufficient space for minimum operational activities such as booking office for selling entrance tickets have been included on the site. According to Gunn's (1994) principle of choosing a location of a culture interpretive centre, the Village is well located and designed. If well managed, it "can function as a surrogate attraction" (Gunn, 1994: 356). That is, instead of allowing tourists to wander over the hinterland ethnic areas casually, threatening the cultural and natural resources and learning little about them, it can work as a "honeypot" to help tourists gain greater insight into ethnic culture from a focal ethnic cultural spot and leave without intruding on the ethnic hinterland and damaging the physical environment there.

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.6. Photo of the three white pagodas in the Bai section at the Yunnan Folk Culture Village (ACDNTVZ, 1993: 47)

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.7. Photo of three white pagodas in Dali, Bai Ethnic Autonomous Region (Yu, 1987: 4)

Management issues resolution

Handling the paradoxical issues associated with tourism development is a great challenge to the Village. Approaches for successful resolution of these issues have not been implemented so far, in spite of some attention from planners and decision makers. However, appropriate resolution of these issues is vital to cultural and economic sustainability of the attraction.

State regulation versus ethnic rights is one of the three predominant issues facing the development of the attraction. The Village's development has been restructuring the political relationship between the state and the ethnic people. Tourism development is likely to involve the state as a promoter and regulator of cultural forms while also validating ethnic group awareness and legal rights. Yang, a manager of the site, told the author that the regional administrative force of Dai autonomous region had from time to time expressed their hope to manage the Dai section inside the Village by themselves:

> They say they have the ability to run the section. They told us: "while you have financial problems, why don't you let us manage it?, We have our own money to run our Dai section" ...

According to Yang, other ethnic groups in the province have expressed their hopes of getting involved in planning and managing their own sections in the Village.

Motivated by the ethnic demand for participation, the Village has started to adjust its planning and management strategies. The first step was to invite local ethnic groups to participate in joint-venture or joint-management projects to lessen the Village's current financial pressure. According to Zhongzhi, one of the managers at the Village:

> The management board decides that the attraction will provide space, let the ethnic people financially invest and practically build some of its remaining projects...

This first step is a positive move towards sustainable development. Since economic

independence generated for ethnic people through tourism will gradually increase their political autonomy, this type of ethnic tourism development may validate the autonomy that an ethnic group obtains from the Chinese central government. If the "affected population" (Long, 1993: 215)--the ethnic groups--are not included in the development's conception, even the most well-planned, well-intentioned development programme will most likely be altered in the actual implementation phase. Effective participation and support of the ethnic groups at the Folk Culture Village is essential not only for the development needs, but for the sustainability of the whole project. As Long (1989) note:

> A sustainable tourism industry requires a commitment by all involved to sustainable development principles at all stages of development. Only through such widespread commitment can the pre-requisite holistic emphasis necessary for long term integration of social, environmental, and economic objectives be attained. (Long, 1993: 215 - 216)

The Village's strategy for balancing traditional and contemporary culture is to follow two paths, according Tianli, a former planner of the Village:

> First, it is to build a culture village of unique Yunnan ethnic characteristics. We believe that the competitiveness of the attraction depends on its unique ethnic and local features... the more an attraction reflects its unique local culture, on a higher international standard it stands. Secondly, the guiding principle of building the Village is to reflect ethnic cultures in progress. From this perspective, We are committed to present the healthy and progressive aspects of ethnic cultures and customs, to reflect the contemporary life of ethnic people in Yunnan Province.

Tianli's statement can be interpreted that the Village does not function as a traditional museum, where visitors can follow a historical itinerary of cultures frozen in earlier times:

> We intend to build an education centre, where ethnic culture can be learned, its progress can be felt, its pride and dignity can be built.

However, this guiding principle may just be a reflection of the political propaganda of the state. To a considerable degree, the Village is a showcase for the state to present "the unity of nationality, the economic and cultural progress of minorities under the leadership of the

Communist Party" (CNTA, 1994: 62). As a result, authenticity may be sacrificed, which is contradictory to the goal of building an attraction of unique ethnic cultural characteristics.

The third predominant issue facing the Village involves cultural pluralism versus integration. Presently, commercial opportunities are a development priority. The issue of cultural pluralism versus integration at the Village has not yet drawn much concern from the management. Although the Village authorities have acknowledged that the commercial drive may eventually affect the sustainability of the Village. Yang, a manager of the site, says that the current plan is:

> ... to restore the culture atmosphere to the Village... We have a new evaluation system. We will evaluate the viability of the Village not in terms of the commercial activities inside, and the revenue generated by the activities, but in terms of the number of entrance tickets being sold to tourists. That is, how many tourists have been attracted to come by the culture. Because more cultural activities inside will attract more visitors.

This statement shows that the planners and managers have recognized that cultural pluralism is vital for successful ethnic tourism, however, they haven't realized that the Village itself may serve as a mechanism for cultural integration precisely because of its economic success. If not carefully managed, this Village may eventually integrate ethnic minority people into the majority industrial society and away from their traditional way of life. The push toward integration of ethnic groups and assimilation of individuals has great implications for the long term viability of the Village. It is important to remember that cultural pluralism will not automatically achieve the sustainability of ethnic tourism. "At the most fundamental level, tourism should not be forced down the throat of community residents by outside interests."(Woodely, 1993: 138) If an ethnic group is interested in tourism development, it should have an opportunity to become involved in the industry in a way that will maximize ethnic benefits and minimize costs. If ethnic people are going to endure the negative impacts that tourism brings, they should be given every opportunity to

benefit from the positive impacts, which are generally economic. Ethnic people should have control of the industry to facilitate a more equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism.

The provincial government and the authority of the Tourist and Vacation Zone have ambitious plans for development of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village and tourism within the province:

> In spite of the impressive tourism growth in the past few years, there is a lot that we need to do to develop tourism of our province. We need to merge our tourism industry into the international tourism market of Southeast Asia. We should be ambitious to make Yunnan tourism to be the future star shining in the international tourism of the great China-Asia-Pacific rim. (Hua, 1994: 1)

This statement recognizes the potential benefits, and the progress that the province has made in tourism development in the recent past. It also realizes that the province still has to work hard to catch up with neighbouring countries in tourism development. The province's name, meaning "south of the clouds" in Chinese, implies both its past remoteness from the rest of China and its moderate climate. These characteristics, as well as Yunnan's varied mountainous terrain and numerous minority ethnic groups, are all important aspects of potential tourism development. About 11.4 million tourists, 400,000 of whom were foreigners, visited Yunnan in 1993 (Hua, 1994). However, tourism in Yunnan is still at an early stage of development compared with neighbouring countries such as Thailand and Singapore. These two countries each received more than 5 million foreign visitors in 1993 (Hua, 1994). In order to achieve its ambitious goal of catching up to its Southeast Asian neighbours, the official strategy for tourism development of the province is to build "high international standard, multifunctional, and unique tourist and vacation zone" (Hua, 1994: 1). The establishment of Yunnan Folk Culture Village, as part of Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone, is a result of this ambitious tourism development plan. The master plan

(ACDNTVZ, 1993) for developing the Tourist and Vacation Zone consists of four parts: guiding principle and development goal, zoning and design, operation and management, and appropriate development based on local conditions.

The whole plan focuses its emphasis on the practical process of building tourism projects. There is little assessment and analysis of potential impacts that might result from the establishment of the Vacation Zone as well as the Culture Village. Although tourism officials at both the national and the local levels have been aware of certain impacts, they have not made specific strategies, at least in their master plan, to handle the potential impacts that might result from tourism development. The Tourist and Vacation Zone is to be ambitiously built up with unique local cultural features, high standards, and multiple use potentials to match the Southeast Asian counterparts (Hua, 1994). The success of this huge tourism project will depend on its economic and social/cultural sustainability in the long term. Without appropriate strategies to handle the impacts which have occurred or are occurring in the tourism project, a high standard, multi-functional international tourist and vacation zone will only be realized in planners' dreams.

V. CASE STUDY 2: WANUSKEWIN HERITAGE PARK

This chapter provides a case study analysis of Wanuskewin Heritage Park. It contains a general introduction to the Park and a detailed interpretation and analysis of the research data regarding the operation and practice at this Canadian ethnic tourism attraction. The analysis of the research data follows the structure of the research problem and subproblems. This chapter will present: A) a general description of the Park, B) an analysis of the process of the Park's development, C) the major social/cultural issues, D) the Park's strategies for addressing development issues.

A. Wanuskewin Heritage Park: A place for great plains buffalo culture

> For over 6000 years, people of the Northern Plains returned to the Opimihaw Creek to take advantage of its shelters, its abundant game and its fresh water. People came for berries, to take part in the buffalo hunt and to tell winter stories around winter fires. In the summer, they camped above the valley and took advantage of the cooling summer breezes. But about 120 years ago, with the onset of the reserve system, Indian people stopped coming to this valley. (Morgan, 1994: 8)

Where did the Indians go? They were isolated on reserves. Their children were taken to residential schools where they grew up with taunts of "savage", "pagan" and "damn Indian"; where they were haunted by an inferiority complex of being told not to do this or that; where they were portrayed "as a bunch of savages riding horses, or as someone you trade off for a few beads." (The StarPhoenix, 1992: C4)

But in the 1990's, the Opimihaw Valley is once again a place for Indian people: for worship and ceremony; for storytelling; for tipis and for buffalo meat. In this place, the Indian people once again feel proud of their ancestors' life style and intelligence: "They lived in harmony with nature. They didn't pollute the air, plants and everything. And they lived

their lives guided by spiritual forces." (The StarPhoenix, 1992: C4) Designated as a National Historic Site, the Opimihaw Valley, a sacred place for Northern Plains Indians, is now known as Wanuskewin Heritage Park, an ethnic tourism attraction which attempts to present, simultaneously and respectfully, the world views of the Indians.

The Park was designated as a National Historic Site by the Monuments Board of Canada and the Minister of the Environment in November 1986. The development cost associated with the Park exceeded $11 million. Completed in June 1992, the Park is situated on the South Saskatchewan River, a few minutes north of Saskatoon; and consists of nineteen, diverse, pre-contact archaeological sites in and around the Opimihaw Valley and Opimihaw Creek (Figure 5.1). Just over 300 acres in total, the Park contains virtually every kind of site typical in the Plains Indians' culture heritage, including buffalo jumps, a medicine wheel and camp sites dating back 6000 years. The Park offers carefully designed walking trails (laid over the ground and not dug into it), outdoor display and performance areas and a state-of-the-art visitor centre which contains a gift shop and restaurant, two small specialized theatres, and art gallery and main gallery. The centre also contains a full-scale archaeology laboratory which is operated by the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Saskatchewan. Wanuskewin provides a focus for the expression of the cultural heritage of the Northern Plains Indians by preserving the site's spiritual character and artifacts, and by providing opportunities for Indian cultural activities that promote and strengthen the Northern Plains Indian culture (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1995a).

In addition to its cultural commitment, the Park is also marketed and promoted as a tourism attraction of national and international significance, and is used to enhance the status of Saskatoon and Saskatchewan as destinations for tourists (Wanuskewin Heritage

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Figure 5.1. Locational map of Wanuskewin Heritage Park (The StarPhonix, 1992: C3)

Park, 1995a). Consequently, the Park has to deal with the challenge of balancing conservation with commercial development.

B. Phase 1: Process of development

Ethnic autonomy exercised

According to Jeremy Morgan (1994), the Park's executive director, the story of Wanuskewin Heritage Park is the one of cooperative efforts to forge mutually respectful partnerships between Indian and non-Indian peoples. This is a relationship born out of the pragmatism and idealism of both partners. Can Wanuskewin Heritage Park bridge the gap between Indian and non-Indian people? An analysis of the actual and potential Indian control over the Park's affairs may give part of the answer.

The Government of Saskatchewan proclaimed the Wanuskewin Heritage Park Act in 1989. Following this, the Wanuskewin Heritage Park Corporation, the Park's corporate board, was established as a non-profit organization with representation from all the major stakeholders: WIHI, the City of Saskatoon, the Government of Canada, Meewasin Valley Authority, Wanuskewin Circle of Friends (a volunteer body), the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, and the University of Saskatchewan. The Park's corporate board operates the Park in association with another corporate body, Wanuskewin Indian Heritage Incorporated (WIHI), the Indian board. An examination of this corporate structure indicates the lengths to which the Park's developers have gone in order to ensure the participation of the Indian people in the partnership (Figure 5.2.).

The Park Corporate Board is responsible for the park as a whole, and owns the land. It employs an executive director, who is responsible for the management of the Park site and facilities. The management of the Park is shared with WIHI, which is responsible for

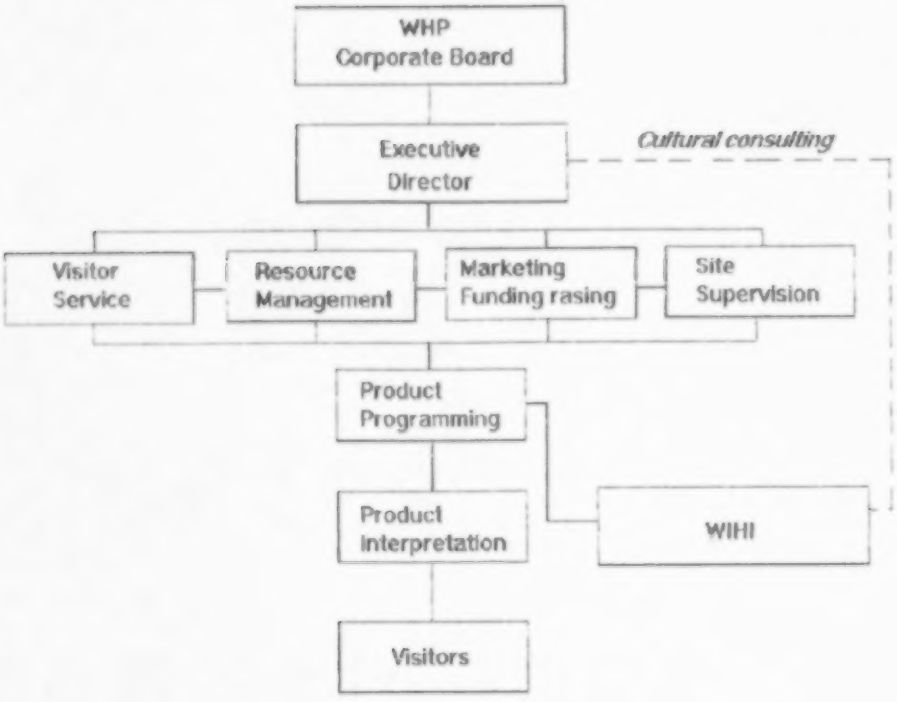

Figure 5.2. WHP planning and management structure

cultural aspects of the Park operations. Being a First Nations Organization, WIHI exists as an entity in its own right and does not require the Park Corporation to validate its existence. The major Indian cultures existing in Saskatchewan are represented on WIHI--Nehiyawak (Cree); Dakota (Sioux); Nakota (Assiniboine); Nahkawininiwak (Saulteaux) and Dene. The role of WIHI at Wanuskewin is to articulate the interests of the Plains Indian

community and culture. More specifically, it has the advisory authority within Wanuskewin over areas such as cultural programming, some land use and development issues, all ceremonial and spiritual matters. It also operates the park's restaurant and gift shop (Morgan, 1994).

Major contributions of WIHI include input into the design and construction of the Park's interpretive building and on-going input into cultural programming and interpretation. The Park Corporate Board and its executive director are the planners and decision makers, and have actual control of the park, but the Indian people do get involved in the development process, although their role has largely been limited to cultural programming and interpretation. Wanuskewin Heritage Park is officially committed to development that is compatible with the principles of First Nations leadership and guidance (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1994), however, application of these principles is difficult largely due to these three barriers: lack of qualified aboriginal managerial personnel; financial dependence upon outside agencies; and, lack of a First Nations economic base.

Figure 5.3. shows the financial dependence of the Park on outside agencies. This

Wanuskewin Funding	
*Gov't of Canada	$4,952,000
*Gov't of Saskatchewan	$1,050,000
*City of Saskatoon	$600,000
*Meewasin Valley Authority	$639,000
*Corporate Sector Campaign (target)	$3,200,000
TOTAL	$10,441,000

Figure 5.3. Wanuskewin capital budget funding (Based on The StarPhoniex, 1992: C4)

dependence, to a certain extent, determines the relationship between the Park Boards and the outside interest groups as shown in Figure 5.4. Although WHP is theoretically

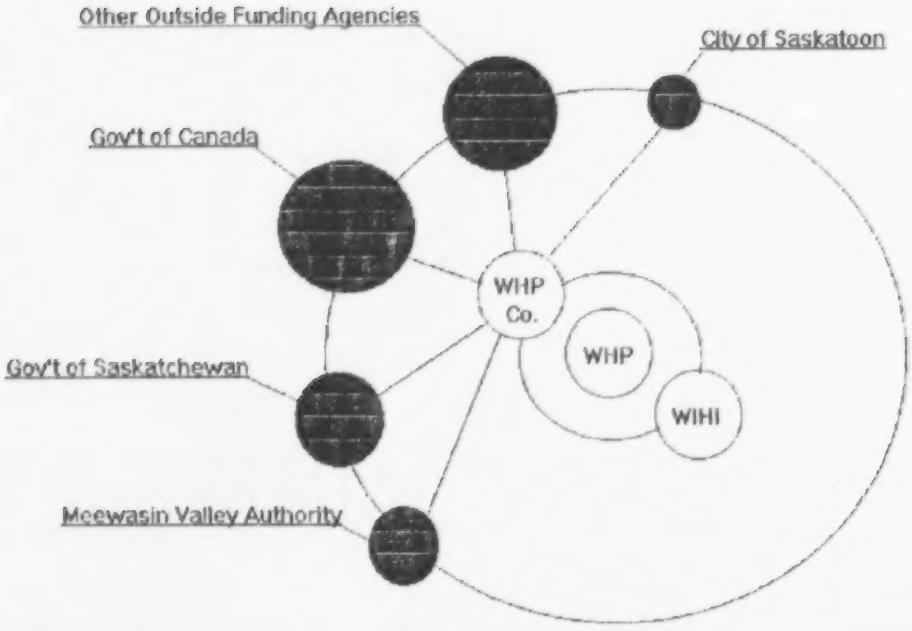

Figure 5.4. The relationship between WHP and its outside interest groups (size of circles reflect the percentage of capital contribution)

independent, its reliance on outside financial donors certainly complicates, if not compromises, this independence. For instance, some Indian people have concerns about

hiring a non-Indian person to be the Park's executive director. They would like to see one of their own people on that position, but so far there has not been an appropriate Indian staff available for that position. Since the park needs funding from outside agencies, ideally its executive director should be one who has experience working with various government and business agencies. Achievement of a goal in one area may be contradictory to achievement of a goal in another. These contradictions reflect that the gaps between Indian and non-Indian people left by the history. Thus, a non-Indian executive director's intention may appear suspect to the Indian people, no matter how sincere his efforts are. Questions may be raised as to whether his efforts have been directed in a way that benefit the Park and the First Nations or merely restricted to those few people connected more directly to the government and business sectors. The fact is that a non-Indian executive director has to face sensitive social and political issues in addition to general operation of the Park. Other barriers, such as the poorly developed Indian economic base, reduce the Indian control of the Park. Walter, an Indian story-teller, expresses similar views:

> In order to have the means to do that [ethnic control of the Park], we need to have an economic base. To develop this economic base we have to have resources. The resources in this country are not under our control. So we have no economic base. We are dependent upon outside agencies. They [non-Indian people] share with us the resources they take off from our land. They use it for themselves. So it [the Park] is considered cultural activity by the white people. But for Indians it is considered another club house for the whites.

While these concerns reflect very complicated and long standing issues that exist at a societal level in Canada, the Park appears to have made some progress toward the reduction of these barriers within its own realms. First, the Park is not only an Indian culture interpretive centre, it is also a training facility. Its training programmes include: start-up training, annual training; and, succession training (Appendix 4). These training programmes are intended to help the First Nations employees: improve individual

performance; become part of the Park's performance management system and; raise the level of their current qualifications. As long as the Park operates and its training programs run properly, it is predicted that there will be an increasing number of Indian employees qualified to fill managerial positions. At present time, 26 out of 30 staff at Wanuskewin are Indian people, including the gift shop manager and restaurant manager. The development of the Park has not only translated into First Nations jobs but also offers the promise of increased native control through the professional development of Indians.

Second, the Park Corporate Board is diversifying its operational budget resources to enhance sustainability. The favoured option is to increase tourism in the Park. The Park Board is well aware that the key to successful ethnic tourism is to create a sustainable advantage, through a unique product and experience (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1994). The Park's Potential Overview of Visitation Activity - 1994/1995 (Appendix 5) indicates that Wanuskewin can offer this through high quality and unique: food; people (staff); craft/gift shop products; education/special interest opportunities; authentic culture; and, site and buildings. Wanuskewin organizers expect 110,000 to 150,000 visitors annually who will pump more than $11.4 million every year into the local economy (The Starphoenix, 1992: C19). If the Board can successfully accomplish its goal of developing the Park as a tourism attraction, it will be less dependent on external funding sources. A secure base of income generated by tourism activities will contribute toward the staffing, maintainenance, and cultural programming expenses of the Park. Eventually the tourism economy may lead to the development of a solid economic base for the First Nations community in Saskatchewan as well as the Park itself. In this process of economic base development, an on-going First Nations participation and the presentation of authentic Indian culture are two critical elements (Figure 5.5). As Jim, a manager, points out:

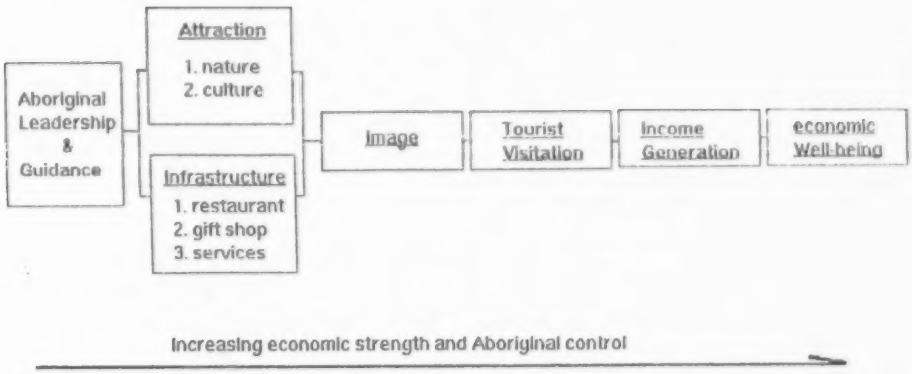

Figure 5.5. Process of WHP economic base development

> Aboriginal tourism is a knowledge based industry. The knowledge of Wanuskewin is the knowledge of First Nations cultures. When these cultures are packaged into tourism products for visitors' consumption, concerns about authenticity become a significant issue.

How the issue of authenticity is dealt with influences whether a cultural programme will be successful or not. Aboriginal people themselves are the most appropriate people to interpret and present their cultures in an authentic and unique fashion, and provide tourists with satisfactory cultural experience. First Nations control of this cultural commodification process ensures the appropriate transformation of resources into tangible products, facilitating the exchange of the Aboriginal culture for a financial return. The accumulation of this financial return may lead to the establishment of the economic base which would strengthen ethnic autonomy.

Ethnic images marketed

In the presentation of First Nations cultures, Wanuskewin's emphasis is on people and activity rather than objects (Morgan, 1994). The interpretive centre has two separate collections which parallel two world views. The archaeological collection, dealt with mainly by non-Indian people, reflects the rational and empirical scientific world view. This scientific approach is validated by the Indian Elders' agreement to establish the Park in the first instance, and subsequently by blessing each site and authorising the excavation and development (Morgan, 1994). The other perspective which contributes to the Park philosophy is the holistic world view of the Northern Plains Indians, characterised by intuition, spirituality and ceremony. Interpretive programmes are delivered through the stories, dances, songs, drumming and craft work of the Indian people and through ceremonies which are led by Elders. Wanuskewin attempts to present an image of a living Northern Plains Indian culture which is "brought to life by people and by human activity"

(Morgan, 1994: 9).

The culture brought to life at Wanuskewin is, by and large, a picture of what life was like in the Northern Plains before the Europeans came to the continent, i.e. precontact time. This story begins with a high-tech interpretation of archaeological discoveries. In 1982 and 1983, the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of University of Saskatchewan completed a detailed assessment of the Wanuskewin area. During the course of these investigations, a total of 21 archaeological sites were identified including 19 precontact sites and 2 more recent historic sites. Intensive archaeological research began in 1984 and continues today. These 21 archaeological sites help visitors to take an "imaginative leap into a culture" (The StarPhoenix, 1992: C14).

Based on the archaeological facts, an audio-visual presentation in the main theatre and some high-tech wizardry in the main exhibit lead the visitor to an imaginative world of Northern Plains Culture in precontact times. One of four interactive computer exhibits simulates a buffalo hunt. Visitors choose from one of three buffalo hunting methods described by three Elders. If they choose the right hunting method for a set of terrain and herd size conditions, they are invited to a feast and given a special name. Other computer games deal with harvesting traditional plants, constructing tipis and spears, and spending a day in the life of a chief, warrior, crier, female Elder or a young girl.

These stimulating interpretive programmes recreate scenes that occurred generation after generation at the very site where the Wanuskewin visitor centre currently stands. Although some concerns about contemporary self-government and treaty obligations are dealt with in the last exhibit, the majority of exhibits dwell on the past. The Park is almost a snapshot of 2,000 years ago on the Plains. Consequently, questions may be raised whether these interpretive programmes present a continuation of the stereotype made by the early

Euro-Canadians about Indian people as savages riding horses and hunting buffalos, or the current viability of First Nations cultures. Some concerns have already been raised from the First Nations society about the image of the Indian people presented at Wanuskewin. Walter, an Indian story-teller, disagrees with the limited approach of Wanuskewin's cultural programming:

> The negative impacts [of Wanuskewin] are the stereotype that continues. Well, my culture is not like that. My culture is my life. They take the culture from a thousand years ago and put it on display. They don't put anything there about today, nothing about contemporary, no continuation of my culture...that [the stereotype] is the people back thousands of years in savage days which have no connection to the reality today.

Besides the concern about the continuation of the stereotype, questions have also been raised from within the First Nations community as to Wanuskewin's ability to sustain itself if the programmes are limited to presenting precontact culture only. Leon, an Indian working for the government of Saskatchewan states:

> ...the emphasis should not be on archaeology, but on the culture itself. Well, archaeology, like what I said, plays a very important role. But to a certain extent it is limiting. People, especially in the community of Saskatoon, their visitation to Wanuskewin is great the first year. Second year it dropped some, third year it dropped some more. Well, they should expand the facilities and include the contemporary culture, and just show something different. People would not come back for the same programmes. So what they have to do is working together, archaeology and the First Nations, to come up with something new. This is also a policy development that is lacking in Wanuskewin.

These concerns indicate that Wanuskewin needs to reconsider how the image of the Indian culture should be marketed. It is an issue of the First Nations self-respect and identity as well as the Park's own survival strategy. For many non-Indian tourists visiting the Park for the first time, it might seem that remarkably little has changed in the First Nations culture during the past hundreds, or even thousands, of years. In the exhibits, Indian people can be seen employing the same implements that were in use at the time of

Christ or before:

> The pounding of hooves mixes with wild shrieks as hundreds of panicking buffalo thunder toward Tipperary Creek. As they pummel the prairie path marked with stone cairns, hunters on either side scream and shout to keep the buffalo stampeding in the same direction. Blinking through the dust, the hunters known the herd could easily swing off course and gore them.
>
> The buffalo have come answering the call of the shaman, the band's healer and spiritual leader.
>
> For many days, he prayed to the buffalo spirit. The fate of our people hinges on the buffalo's generous spirit. The buffalo offers itself for our survival. And when we die, we return to the earth to nourish the grass which feeds the buffalo.
>
> Terrified and unable to stop in time, the massive buffalo, some weighing over 1,000 kilograms, hurtle over the cliff. Hunters below wait to kill the survivors of the fall. (The StarPhoniex, 1992: C14)

This romantic vignette based on archaeological discoveries describes a buffalo hunt on the site of Wanuskewin in precontact times. If interpretation is limited to this type of image, the perception may be created that Indian people do not want change. There might be an element of truth to this idea, since a definite conservation ethic does exist in all cultures (Arensberg and Niehoff, 1971). In general, however, there is a need for continuity in every culture otherwise the accumulation of knowledge that is the essence of culture would be lost, and each generation would have to start afresh with nothing more than its biological heritage (Arensberg and Niehoff, 1971). The concerns raised by Walter and Leon support that point: marketing the Indian culture to tourists should start from the perspective of the culture's conservation and continuity in order to avoid manipulating the cultural product just for catering to the tourism market. Then, the commodification of Indian culture will not be routine enough to bring back the stereotype which is resented by the Indian people, the commodification of whose culture is vital for the Park to survive.

Ethnic responses revealed

The study of ethnic responses to the development of Wanuskewin Heritage Park reveals the conflicting nature of tourism impacts on the economy, culture, and environment of the related Indian society. Accordingly, the Indian people's attitudes toward the Park are varied, including both positive and negative aspects.

In terms of the economic impacts, interviews with four Indian people who have been employed at the Park indicate that Wanuskewin is deemed to be successful in generating Indian employment and operation revenue. However, there is still debate about the equatability of the distribution of these economic benefits. Walter argues:

> ....for an institution like Wanuskewin, success is often determined in economic terms. If the institution is making money, it is considered a success. And the government will give the institution more money because it is successful. But what does this success mean to Aboriginal people? I mean there are economic benefits, but the economic benefits for Aboriginal people are minimal. In Wanuskewin most of the Aboriginal employees are part-time, lower-pay labourers. Their income can be significantly different from the white full-time employees...

Leon is not as critical. What concerns him is that the Park has not yet evolved to the stage where substantial economic benefits are spread to the broader Indian community. In his view, the Park should have more effective strategies to see that the broader Indian community benefits financially:

> Wanuskewin is also a commercial activity and anything connected with commercialism is money. At the present stage, the money goes only to the operating budget of Wanuskewin, it doesn't go to the community. It does not go to the Aboriginal community and the First Nations people don't get benefit from the Park financially. But they are benefiting in terms of education to the whole society. But that's not enough. The Park developers need to ensure that Aboriginal community benefit from the Park financially soon, otherwise the Park only means another museum to them. A lot of Aboriginal people are still being kept away from the Park by the $5.00 entrance charge...

While these indirect benefits are not clear, the employment of Indians on Park staff

has produced quantifiable direct economic benefits. At present, over 90 % of the Park's employees are of First Nations descent, and their annual salaries exceed $535,000.00 (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1995b). From this context, the Park's economic influence on the Indian community is significant. Indian involvement in the Park's economic activity fostered First Nations entrepreneurship, as exemplified by the successful operation of the Park's restaurant and gift shop by Indian people. The nurturing of the First Nations entrepreneurship may benefit the broader Indian community.

In terms of the social/cultural impacts as perceived by the Indian community, the attitudes show more positive elements in comparison to their view of the economic issues. All of the four Indian interviewees agree that the Park has important educational values. Generally their opinions can be categorized into three main benefits:

To help build Indian sense of identity and self-esteem.

The Park has provided Indian people with an opportunity to learn from their past. The four interviewees range in age from their 20s to 60s. They all received at least part of their formal education in the Euro-Canadian system, and experienced culturally based terminology and the narrow depiction of Indian culture in those curriculums. As Tina, an Indian employee of the Park says:

> ...the Park does help us to rebuild our sense of identity and self-esteem. Because a lot of Aboriginal people come from different backgrounds, like, you know, a lot of Aboriginal people were not raised in a traditional manner. For example, I don't know my own language, my Aboriginal language. Some people have been raised traditionally though they don't speak their language, and they don't know their culture. We have to just educate our people. It is an issue of self-identity and self-esteem. The Park does help in that manner.

To help the mainstream society appreciate Indian culture.

They all feel that the First Nations people have not been portrayed in a positive manner in the mainstream society. Most Canadian people still only know that 500 years ago

Christopher Columbus mistook America for India and called the inhabitants "Indians". This notion has long neglected the fact there were hundreds of distinct Aboriginal nations in America at the time. The old term "prehistoric people" for instance, downplayed the sophistication of the native cultures. A better term is "precontact people" (Starphoenix, 1992: C21). The Park is very important for the mainstream society to learn about and appreciate the First Nations cultures and values. Leon states:

> The Park presents authentic precontact culture...all that is very educational...especially when they get a lot of school groups... And they do certain programming and tell the kids the hunting methods. The kids have the chance to learn about the tools and weapons our people used to survive in precontact times, although technology has changed... It's important for kids to understand that the technology our people used thousands of years ago was right for the environment and the animals they hunted.

To help bridge the two solitudes of Indian and non-Indian lives.

The interviewees believe that Wanuskewin provides an opportunity to bridge the two solitudes of Indian and non-Indian life, and break down barriers related to ignorance about traditional Indian culture. They feel that the way for two cultures to live together is by fostering mutual respect. Racism may be more subtle today than thirty years ago, but it is still viewed as being pervasive. It may not disappear overnight, but hopefully, a place like Wanuskewin will change people's attitudes. In order to encourage the change, it is necessary that Indian culture secure a place in the mainstream culture of the Canadian society. Walter reflects on this topic in his statement:

> ...I think the only chance to get rid of racism is to install our culture in the mainstream society, to let the mainstream society accommodate our culture as we did to the white culture in the past. People should know there are two parallel systems, both of them are valuable. But look at the media, can you see any Aboriginal culture? On TV, you see white culture, in movies too. You see white culture everywhere. But where is the place for my culture?... In Wanuskewin there might be chance to do it, to educate the white people, to educate the mainstream society about our culture...

Despite the positive attitudes, concerns have also been raised by the interviewees as

to the negative social/cultural impacts on the Indian community. These concerns mainly centre on the issue of the Park's programming being limited to precontact culture on the grounds that it might help maintain illusion of exotic culture, creating an ethnographically "primitive" image of the Indian people; and, through the romanticization of precontact culture, it presents artificial and unauthentic "Hollywood type".

In the environmental realm, the Park itself is a conservation project. Protecting the natural environment has been an important goal (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a), and the Park has raised awareness of environmental protection through its programmes emphasizing positive First Nations' environmental values. The interviews did not reveal specific concerns from the Indian community as to the negative impact of the Park on the environment. Nevertheless, given that 197,790 tourists have visited the Park between June 1992 and March 1994 (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1995b), environmental impacts are inevitable. Careful planning and management is required to tour about 100,000 people per year through a 300 acre area which is both environmentally and culturally sensitive. The noted interview responses are not drawn from a representative sample, but the indication is clear that tourism is a controversial phenomenon: benefits and costs co-exist. The paradox is that the costs can impair or even exceed the benefits accrued as a result of the Park. If uncontrolled or poorly planned, tourism development may lead to a range of negative economic, social/cultural and environmental impacts on the First Nations community. Significant problems created by those impacts must be minimized and benefits maximized, otherwise Wanuskewin will lose the support from the people whose culture is the very basis of the attraction.

C. Phase 2: Major issues

Nation-state regulation versus ethnic control

Wanuskewin Heritage Park has a human rights commission exemption to permit preferential hiring of Indian people (The StarPhoniex, 1992). At present, 90 percent of the employees at Wanuskewin are of Indian descent, including those who are well educated and qualified in managerial positions, such as the restaurant manager and the gift shop manager. However, most of the Indian people working at the Park were not educated in traditional Indian style, and some of them did not learn about their ethnic culture heritage until they started working for the Park. Tina represents a good example:

> I was adopted and grew up in a White family. I got a good education and have a university degree, but I was not trained in an Indian traditional way. I don't speak my traditional Indian language, and I didn't learn about my Indian culture until very late...

Canada today is a country made up of peoples from many parts of the world. People of European heritage have come to form the dominant culture. "It is their beliefs and customs, their languages, technology and arts that characterize Canadian society." (Patterson, 1982: 7) The native Indian people make up a much smaller portion of the total Canadian population. As a visible minority group, the Canadian Indian people went through the same darkness in the past as other Aboriginal people who have become minorities in the other parts of the world: discrimination, forced acculturation and assimilation (Bodley, 1990). The second half of the twentieth century has seen many Aboriginal peoples in various parts of the world regain the control of their culture from the nations which had conquered them. This process has taken place among the Indian people of Canada. However, the "legacy" of the past will not die over night. Prejudice and discrimination continue to be reported by Indian peoples at work, in school, and generally, in the large

environment of the Canadian society (Patterson, 1982; The StarPhoniex, 1992). Given this societal context, nation-sate regulation versus ethnic control is a significant issue at Wanuskewin.

Variety and diversity are themes often emphasized in Canada as desirable, given its multicultural policy. Federal Indian policy today encourages the protection and development of First Nations culture (Patterson, 1982). Although Canada's Indian people have recently regained some measure of control of their own culture, the legacy of the past is formidable and pervasive, and generally runs counter to the Indian autonomy. To understand why the Indian control is difficult to exercise, it is necessary to comprehend the essence of the historical relationship which has existed over the past four centuries between the Indians and their European colonizers.

In Canada, the Indian culture used to be dismissed as irrelevant, and the assimilation into the European social order assumed to be necessary for Canadian Indians to survive. For the dominant society in Canada, this kind of need for the forced acculturation of Indians was confirmed in the years following Confederation (Barman et al., 1986). This forced acculturation was meant to solve the "Indian problem" (Barman et al., 1986), and education was perceived as the primary vehicle in this acculturation process. Thus, in the late nineteenth century, large industrial residential schools were created away from Indian reserves and, a few years later, boarding schools were created nearer reserves for younger children. In these schools, attendance would be ensured, and all aspects of life, from dress to use of English language to behaviour, would be carefully regulated according to the dominant European culture. Today, these residential schools have disappeared, but their effect is still painfully felt among the Indian population, and continues to influence their life significantly. For example, in the past, the only way for Indian people to get the

institutionalized education was to go to residential schools. In Canadian society individuals who have been formally educated in this setting are considered qualified for employment. This formal education is also appreciated at Wanuskewin. Here is Walter's story:

> ...I don't have a university degree, and I don't have what they call a "formal education". But I learned my culture from my elders, and I have education which came to me from a different system. But they don't think so...

Walter's story might not be representative of all Indian employees at the Park, but it does reflect certain problems left over from the past.

Tina and Walter perhaps represent two types of Indians, non-traditional and traditional. They were torn apart by two different education/culture systems, the Canadian institutionalized European school system, and the First Nations traditional teaching with ceremonies that stress the individual's link to the spiritual and the sacred (Barman et al., 1986). These two systems stood parallel and in conflict with each other in the past, partly due to the resistance of Indian people to the forced acculturation, as well as the separation of Indian population on reserves (Heber, 1989). The systems have not only created barriers for positive cultural communication between Indian and non-Indian populations, but created two types of Indians, non-traditional and traditional, thus creating divisions between Indian people themselves. The interviewees frequently touched upon this issue in the context of which Indians should appropriately represent and interpret the Indian culture in Wanuskewin.

The distrust of "non-traditional" Indians by "traditional" Indians is surprisingly strong, and this distrust may significantly affect the process of ethnic control over their own cultural facilities. To Walter, Indians like Tina are metaphorically called "apples"--red (Indian) on the outside and white (Caucasian) on the inside. From Walter's perspective the control of Wanuskewin by "non-traditional" Indians is no different than control by "non-Indians".

Walter's opinion may appear to be extreme, but it does suggest that if the two cultures continue to be incompatible, these two parallel systems may continue to tear the Indian people apart, so that ethnic control becomes even more difficult to exercise. This is a very serious issue to consider especially now when the Canadian mainstream education is still institutionalized as Anglo-French bilingual system even while the rebirth and resurgence of the Indian culture becomes a reality. If the policy of assimilation in the past did not work to create social order and peace, two parallel systems may not work either without their accommodation to each other. This kind of accommodation between Indian and non-Indian cultures has started in the practice of Wanuskewin Heritage Park. However, if Wanuskewin is a place where two cultures meet, its long-term cooperation between Indian and non-Indian people depends on a supportive environment from the larger Canadian society.

Freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution

In the "global village" in which we are living today, each ethnic society is as contemporary as any other society: it endeavours to change with circumstances (Hollinshead, 1992). Whether cultural conservation strategies are in harmony with the necessary social/cultural change of an ethnic society or in conflict with this evolution is an important issue to consider in tourism development. As a tourism attraction, Wanuskewin Heritage Park faces this important issue: the tendency toward freezing ethnic culture, versus ethnic cultural evolution.

In general, the cultural conservation strategies presented by tourism researchers and critics seek to help Aboriginal populations practice self-determinism, preserve their unique cultural heritage, and deal effectively with the mainstream culture. These strategies also play a very important role in the development of Wanuskewin Heritage Park:

> We must be careful in assuming that spiritual concerns were the focal point regarding the use of the Wanuskewin area by prehistoric peoples but at the same time recognize that the area may well acquire spiritual significance as time goes on. For these reasons, it will be necessary to limit access to certain key areas, to arrange for special times for certain activities for Indian participation in such ceremonial activities. (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a: 62)

The above paragraph illustrates that respecting Indian spirituality is a management objective at Wanuskewin. The willingness to respond to Indian spirituality is indicative of a conservation strategy that is supportive of Indian cultural retention and revitalization. Wanuskewin's cultural programmes address these spiritual needs through sweat lodge ceremonies, feasts, blessings and other First Nations activities. Furthermore, the Wanuskewin Board believes that it is possible that places which formerly may not have had any spiritual significance may acquire it in the future. It is recognized, that as a certain locale is used repeatedly for ceremonies with the placement of blessed cloths and tobacco offerings in the area, that locale may eventually acquire a spiritual significance (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a). The emerging "power feeling" or a "sense of power" associated with a ceremonial site indicates the dynamic nature of Indian traditional spiritual ceremonies.

Indian people have variety and diversity in their culture as do other Canadian ethnic groups (Patterson, 1982). Spiritual ceremonialism is only a part of their diversified culture, and it does not exist independently from other parts of the culture. Since Indian populations are no longer isolated from interaction with other cultures given a world of universal education, mass communication, and modern transportation, their contemporary life consists of continued, if moderate, social/cultural adaptation (Brody, 1982). Canadian Indian culture is as vibrant and alive as any other culture. Nevertheless, the retention, revitalization, and renewal of Canadian Indian culture will be achieved through Indian self-identity, cultural diversity, and a natural adaptation to elements of other cultures of the

Canadian society. If Wanuskewin's goal is to present a "living culture" (Morgan, 1994), it has to go beyond the culture brought to life by archaeology and spiritual ceremonialism to put forward a culture of living, contemporary society, as Stone, an Indian educator told the author:

> ...Wanuskewin should lead visitors to realize that we Indians are like any other citizens...not the Hollywood stereotype. We are people just like any other Canadians...

Stone suggests that change and adaptation have been the normal condition of Canadian Indian populations. A living Indian culture is an integration of past, present, and future, as well as its interactions with other Canadian cultures. This perspective presents some difficulty in the quest for authentic experience in modern day life (Mellinger, 1994). Tourism, which emerged with this modern search for authenticity, is based on the mistaken belief that authentic experience exists in isolation of everyday life in contemporary society:

> For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life styles. (MacCannell, 1976: 3)

In order to satisfy tourists demand for "unspoiled cultures" surrounded by landscapes of pristine beauty, the tourism industry often seeks to provide an exotic, primitive and natural "elsewhere" absent from the tourists' own world (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1976). Consequently, the places, people, and things that tourists gaze upon may be separate from everyday experience. "They are viewed more intensely and subtly than the mundane objects of ordinary perception." (Mellinger, 1994: 758) In the North American situation in particular, there has been a tendency in the dominant society to stereotype Indian people into a definite and unchanging scheme where identified traditions, once organized, are held inviolable (Hollinshead, 1992).

Wanuskewin falls into this trap to the extent that it restricts its interpretive

programmes primarily to pre-contact culture and traditional spirituality. Concentration on precontact culture and spiritual ceremonialism may well produce an image of exotic, exciting, and extraordinary "unspoiled Canadian Natives", as previously observed by Walter and Leon. Stone also noted the danger in a precontact focus:

> ...They think traditional dances are like that [performed exactly as what used to be done in precontact days]. That's for the white people to watch it. They say that's kind of dance the Indians did...for the white men to watch. And they say that is what the white men used to watch when they came to this country...they continue to abuse us.

A more moderate perspective is that Wanuskewin cultural programmes are based primarily on rational and empirical science of archaeology discoveries under a mandate to present this information authentically. An uneroded and unchanged display of precontact culture is a reflection of scientific sincerity and honesty. However, Wanuskewin is also a place where the holistic world view of the people of Northern Plains is presented. The characteristics of this holistic world view include intuition, spirituality and ceremony (Morgan, 1994). This holistic world view is the most subtle part of the Park's presentation, because it cannot be interpreted through rational science and is difficult to translate to non-Indians although it is very real for those knowledgeable about Indian religion (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a). In order to avoid the tendency toward freezing or stereotyping the Indian culture, there needs to be a balance of precontact culture and contemporary culture in Wanuskewin's cultural programming.

Cultural pluralism versus integration

There is an argument that the hosts' food, folklore, ceremonies, entertainment, accommodation facilities, etc., lose their authenticity under the impact of tourism. A similar culture grows everywhere to satisfy the standardized demand of the tourists (Bodley, 1990;

Dogan, 1989; Matthews, 1978; Smith, 1989). However, the survival of tourism industry itself needs a multi-cultural world which can offer different cultural resources catering to tourists' search for authentic cultural experiences. As a result, cultural pluralism versus integration has always been a paradoxical issue in both theory and practice. As an Aboriginal cultural tourism attraction, Wanuskewin also has to address this paradoxical issue. However, due to its particular context in a developed country and a history of Indian cultural assimilation, Wanuskewin is facing the challenge of replanting cultural pluralism in a field of integration.

On the one hand, the attraction of Wanuskewin is Indian culture. The competitive advantage that Wanuskewin enjoys in the tourism business is this authentic Indian culture. Since its inception, Wanuskewin has bee promoted on this basis (The StarPhoniex, 1992). Since the Park recognizes its economic dependence on the Indian culture, it recruits Indian individuals and groups, to provide an authentic ethnic tourism product for visitors. Cultural pluralism is vital for Wanuskewin to succeed as a tourism attraction over the long term.

On the other hand, tourism itself is an institutionalized and standardized industry (Cohen, 1986) and characterized by a process of socialization (Matthews and Richter, 1991). It has the power of integrating participants into the cultural, economic, and political life of the mainstream society. If in the past, the assimilation policy integrated the Indian people into the dominant culture by force, the contemporary tourism culture and economy may well serve to integrate these minority Indian people on their own free will. For example, Wanuskewin aims to show its visitors how rich and diverse the First Nations' precontact culture was in order to meet the need of tourists for exposure to ethnic culture experiences. At the same time, however, tourism's socialization process offers the First Nations a stage to participate in the mainstream economic and political activities, thereby sharpening the sense of their own identity. The increasing awareness of the Indian education and

entrepreneurship expressed by Stone is a good example:

> Yes, [it is possible that Wanuskewin develop in a right direction which the Indians like], we do it ourselves. [In order to do it ourselves], we need to educate our people. [We need] financial power--I think independence should be the right word. [Wanuskewin lets us know] there are more important things to do than just controlling a small site like Wanuskewin, like mining and minerals, and minerals development. That is where our financial power comes from.

Stone's comment suggests that the socialization involved in ethnic tourism activity at Wanuskewin may in turn lead to cultural integration. That is, instead of forced assimilation into the dominant culture as attempted in the past, the Indian people are actively integrating themselves into the life of the mainstream society as they gain self-confidence and self-assertion through their tourism success. More and more First Nations men and women will take roles as participants, or even leaders, in the broader community and in public and private organizations of the prevailing Canadian society. Change in the Indian life is of course necessary and unavoidable:

> Most Indian groups inevitably change as the enveloping environment alters and in any given situation it should be realized today that not all Indians [will be] guided by [their persistent] traditions...any more than all Christians [will in every circumstance be] guided by the ethics of the Christian tradition". (Hollinshead, 1992: 56)

In the face of this change, the challenge is to use "their imagination to find a way to continue being Indians" (Patterson, 1982: 75). The change generated by tourism on Indian life also presents a challenge to the development of Wanuskewin Heritage Park. Many participants in ethnic tourism are interested in traditional tribal Aboriginal people. A casual conversation between the author and four tourists at the Park indicates that tourists enjoy cultural pluralism fostered by the attraction. These tourists feel that the Canadian culture can benefit from keeping Indian culture alive. They feel respect for the Native Canadians because of what they perceived to be Native people's non-destructive relationship with the

environment, strong family relationships, enduring sense of tradition, and spirituality. However, the strong force of socialization inherent in the tourism activity will increasingly integrate the Indian people into the mainstream society. In this socialization process, change will be the normal condition for the Indian people as well as for all other Canadians. If in the past the change forced on the Indian people involved much hurt, the new change may be welcome to them if it is accompanied by cultural, economic, and political benefits. Since the average living standard of the Canadian Indian people is still lower than other Canadians, the Indian people will likely appreciate the development brought to them by tourism, especially when they own the resources and are assured a share of the economic benefits. Under the influence of this change, the meaning of cultural pluralism will evolve as well. While cultural pluralism offers lessons for the First Nations people to seek their culture of the past, it also produces an impetus for them to hold their cultural rebirth of the present, and explore the way of developing their cultural integrity for the future in the contemporary national integration.

D. Phase 3. Strategies for development

"Because of the wide-ranging effects of tourism on a destination area, it is vital that development be undertaken within the context of a plan." (Mill and Morrison, 1985: 284) Tourism planning is an essential activity for Wanuskewin Heritage Park. The Park's marketing plan, resource management plan, and training plan set strategies for development in terms of analyzing the future, setting basic goals and objectives, and selecting courses of action. The rest of this chapter discusses the Park's development strategies in two areas: physical design, and management issue resolution.

Physical design

The Park's physical design is not completely in accordance with Gunn's (1994) basic principles of attraction design. Gunn's first principle suggests that a culture interpretive centre should be located on "hardened" site, away from the rare and fragile resources that would be damaged from excessive human intrusion. On the contrary, Wanuskewin Heritage Park is located in a place which is environmentally and culturally sensitive (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a), since the Park is built right on the site of archaeological discoveries. This location facilitates the Park's dual function of archaeology and interpretation, enables management and interpretation of the resources

The Park's developers are well aware of the sensitive nature of the archaeological sites within the Park, as demonstrated in Wanuskewin Heritage Park Resource Management Plan-1992 (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a). This resource management plan contains a detailed description and analysis of the bio-physical conditions as well as the cultural heritage resources of the Park, in terms of their sensitivity to, compatibility with, and suitability for development. On the basis of this description and analysis, major issues and concerns regarding the sensitivity of the resources are articulated, and the Parks's goals and objectives of resource management are clarified. In the plan, policies and guidelines for a resource management programme are proposed and management implementation strategies are recommended. The Park's strategy is consistent with Gunn's (1994) principle of facilitating convenient accessibility to an attraction. The Park is located close to a city, Saskatoon, and is easily accessible by automobile and tour bus, with adequate nearby parking.

The interpretive centre's design is a themed adaptation to the site. That is, the structure of the centre building is designed in the way to reflect the ethnic marker of the

Indian culture. The building is structured like a Indian tipi (Figure 5.6), and the whole design illustrates the four cardinal points of the compass which is circular in structure. This design results in a powerful visual and tactile effect which has the aesthetic and spiritual impact that the Indian Elders were searching for: let the visitor flow in a counterclockwise direction which addresses a cultural belief important to Indian people (Figure 5.7)--four directions, four winds, four peoples, four elements presented in circular form and basic to Northern Plains Indian spirituality. Management and service facilities are located inside the centre building where their appearance is carefully arranged not to intrude upon the aesthetics and dominant theme of the whole Park. At the entrance, a clean, streamlined appearance is provided by limiting design features to simple admissions counter. Generally, the attraction is located and designed according to Gunn's principles. If well managed, the Park can also "function as a surrogate attraction" (Gunn, 1994: 356) to help tourists gain greater insight into the Indian culture and leave without damaging the physical environment.

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.6. Photo of the Cultural Interpretive Centre of Wanuskewin Heritage Park (Safarik, 1995: 15)

The material involved has been removed because of copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.7. Structure of Wanuskewin Heritage Park Cultural Interpretive Centre (The StarPhoniex, 1992: C11)

Management issue resolution

Dealing with the paradoxical issues associated with tourism development is a significant challenge for Wanuskewin. Despite a comprehensive impact assessment associated, and the clear articulation of goals and objectives for the Park's development in its marketing, resource management, and training plans, social/cultural and economic issues remain. There is a need for the resolution of these issues if the Park is to be a sustainable attraction.

State regulation versus ethnic rights is one of the three predominant issues facing the development of Wanuskewin Heritage Park. Although Wanuskwein is a "not for profit" organization independent from the State, this independence is, to a large extent, nominal, due to the Park's extremely high dependency on federal funding. According to Jim, one of the managers of the Park, the capital funding for Wanuskewin came from the federal, provincial, municipal government corporations, businesses and individuals. The high dependence on federal, provincial, and municipal government funding definitely influences the relationship between the Park and state. As Dan, a government officer told the author:

> We [the provincial government cultural heritage department] provide some operational budget for the Park...The Park is independent...Our influence is, literally, through the enforcement of the heritage property act...such as licensing archaeology activities...

As a national heritage property, Wanuskewin Heritage Park preserves and protects the Park's natural and cultural resources according to the Heritage Property Act administered by the provincial government cultural heritage department. In that sense, the Park is not a completely independent entity.

Besides the financial ties with the state, the present social/cultural issues influencing the Park's development cannot be viewed independently from the government regulations and policies of the past, present, and future. The Park's present shortage of qualified Indian

managerial staff has much to do with the federal education and training policies related to First Nations people. The Park faces the limitations of past Indian education and training programmes. As a result, the Park has to make adjustments to reduce the barriers to the First Nations control of the Park. The Park Corporate Board is aware of the importance of setting up training programmes for Indian employees as demonstrated by the Park's staff training plan. However, this training plan has not been developed to specifically address the complex social/cultural issues raised in this chapter. The objective of the plan is to provide knowledge training for its employees and trainees from other ethnic cultural facilities. This objective needs to be specified to lead to the goal of increasing ethnic control.

Similarly, the problem associated with only presenting a frozen ethnic culture as opposed to its cultural dynamic evolution through to a contemporary context remains unresolved. This issue has manifested itself in the Park's development, and as yet, no specific strategy has been identified by the Park to resolve it. The Park's cultural objective is to "provide a focus for the expression of the cultural heritage of the Northern Plains Indians by preserving the site's spiritual character and artifacts, and provide opportunities for Indian cultural activities that promote and strengthen the Northern Plains Indian culture" (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1995a). This cultural objective indicates that the Park not only works as a cultural and historical museum for the expression and preservation of Northern Plains cultural heritage, it also works as an interpretive centre to promote and strengthen the Northern Plains Indian culture. As a cultural interpretive centre, the Park should not just focus on the precontact culture relating to archaeology for the two main reasons. First, "despite the conservatism existing in all cultures, a certain measure of which is certainly necessary, change is constant" (Arensberg and Niehoff, 1971: 67). So, a living culture is a system of its past, present, and future. Second, the impact of tourism on a society is "the

result of an interaction between the nature of the change agent and the inherent strength and ability of the host culture to withstand, and absorb, the change generators whilst retaining its own integrity" (Ryan, 1991: 148). As a culture interpretive centre, Wanuskewin has to present a living culture of the Northern Plains reflecting the past, present, and future. It also needs to design certain "pseudo-events" out of the archaeological facts and contemporary Indian life for the "confinement of tourism" (Ryan, 1991: 148) so that it will work as mechanism of protection of Indian culture heritage.

The third issue is of cultural pluralism versus integration. It is obvious that Wanuskewin developers consider cultural pluralism vital for the sustainability of the Park. The Park's marketing plan and resource management plan recognize its dependence on the Indian culture. Corresponding to this dependence, the Park's plans have specific strategies to recruit Indian individuals and consult Indian Elders and the community, to provide ethnic tourism for visitors, as indicated by Morgan (1994: 9):

> The role of WIHI...is paramount in cultural matters: the kinds of programme that can be offered; matters of language and languages; the presence of ceremonial activity; and, who has access to it.

WIHI's leading and consultative role in cultural matters reflects the high priority assigned to cultural pluralism in the Park. However, since tourism is a promoter and accelerator of change, it has strong effect of integrating Indian people into the social, economic, and political life of the mainstream society. Besides, the past assimilation and acculturation enforced on the Indians by the dominant society still exist and act as barriers to the Park's cultural pluralism policy. The Park's developers need to articulate a specific strategy to deal with this issue. This kind of strategy has not been identified, yet must soon be articulated if the Park is to be sustainable.

The Park has completed an indepth tourism impact assessment in terms of the

conservation and protection of the natural and cultural heritage at Wanuskewin. Corresponding strategies to reduce the possible impacts have been made, and objectives and goals of resource management set. In addition, the Park has comprehensive marketing and training plans to promote the Park as an ethnic tourism attraction as well as to prepare enough qualified Indian employees to not only operate the Park, but also to eventually assume managerial and planning roles in ethnic tourism development. These strategies have laid a base for the Park's development. However, strategies addressing the social/cultural, economic and environmental issues which emerged during the Park's early years of operation, must be identified as completely as possible, otherwise sustainability cannot be ensured.

VI. COMPARISON OF THE TWO ATTRACTIONS

The two case studies have provided detailed descriptions regarding the development process, major issues, and strategies associated with the two attractions. This chapter articulates the similarities and differences between the two case studies. The purpose of generalizing these similarities and differences is to consider the promise of ethnic interpretive centres as sustainable tourism attractions as reflected in the strengths and weaknesses of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park. This chapter is divided into a section on unresolved challenges and one on positive achievements.

A. Unresolved challenges

There is little hope for the sustainability of this type of cultural attraction unless the existing problems are recognized. The two case studies are characterized by similarities and differences in the challenges that they face. These unresolved challenges manifest themselves in the attractions' development process, major issues, and strategies addressing the issues (Figure 6.1).

Similarities

Development process.

The two attractions face a number of similar unresolved challenges in the development process. Each interpretive centre falls short of ultimate ethnic minority control, they are both characterized by incomplete ethnic images created by selective culture programmes; and, both attractions are perceived to have some negative impacts on ethnic community such as denigration of traditions and customs, potential tension between the

	Yunnan Folk Culture Village	Wanuskewin Heritage Park
	Development Process	
similarities:	**a.** lack of appropriate ethnic control **b.** incomplete image created by selected culture programmes **c.** negative impacts on ethnic community e.g. denigration of traditions and customs, potential tension between the industry and local residents, tourists and hosts	
causes:	**a.** state influence reduces ethnic control **b.** selected culture aspects may reduce authenticity **c.** uncontrolled economic adaptation leads to cultural erosion	**a.** economic dependence reduces ethnic control **b.** focus on precontact culture may continue stereotyped ethnic image **c.** cultural conflicts create barriers to cultural and economic development
	Major Issues	
similarities:	**a.** the inherent paradoxical issues of tourism occurred in both attractions. e.g. -nation-state regulation versus ethnic control -the tendency of freezing culture versus cultural evolution -cultural pluralism versus integration	
causes:	**a.** state human resource management regulations create barriers to ethnic control **b.** fast change may neglect conservation **c.** uncontrolled integration may devalue cultural pluralism	**a.** two parallel cultural systems create barriers to ethnic control **b.** tendency of freezing ethnic culture may limit necessary change **c.** past assimilation and present integration present difficulty for the rebirth of Indian culture
	Strategies	
similarities:	**a.** no specific strategies to identify tourism's inherent issues and the resolutions of the issues	
causes:	**a.** restricting development strategies to short-term economic aspect **b.** lack of appropriate impact assessment **c.** lack of appropriate resource management plan **d.** lack of appropriate marketing plan **e.** lack of appropriate training plan	**a.** impact assessment being limited to conservation only **b.** little concern about the aspect of contemporary culture in the resource management plan

Figure 6.1. Unresolved challenges the two attractions are facing

industry and ethnic people, as well as between tourists and hosts.

The lack of ultimate ethnic control presents the first, and perhaps the most common challenge to the sustainability of the two attractions, although the causes are different. This lack of ultimate ethnic control is reflected in the reality that ethnic involvement in the development process is restricted to culture interpretation and programme operation with a limited ethnic role in the planning and management of the sites. If considering long term sustainability, however, management must realize that sufficient ethnic control is vital to ethnic tourism. Attention should be given to, therefore, how much power an ethnic group should actually exert in the development process.

The second major challenge for both attractions is that the selected culture programmes at each site may contribute toward the creation on incomplete ethnic image. Although Yunnan Folk Culture Village focuses on contemporary ethnic life, while Wanuskewin Heritage Park emphasizes a historical perspective, their respective culture programming orientations both present only partial ethnic images for the tourists. These partial images may affect the way guests look at hosts, and the hosts look at themselves. Although positively selected cultural programmes may keep certain sacred aspects of an ethnic culture from being eroded or denigrated by intrusion of mass tourists, the selection process must be under the supervision of ethnic people themselves, otherwise the partial ethnic image created by tourism business circle will not gain approval from the ethnic minority people. As the result, an unhealthy tension will develop between the industry and the local residents, as well as between guests and hosts.

Tourism's paradoxical nature of coexistent benefits and costs suggests that some form of negative impacts are a natural outcome of tourism development. These negative impacts are reflected in the ethnic responses to the tourism development at the two sites

although the impacts vary according to each attraction's particular situation. In the Chinese situation, the push for modernization is leading to uncontrolled commodification of ethnic culture, which may result in denigration of traditional ethnic values, while in the Canadian case, the practice of only presenting precontact ethnic culture is regarded by Indian people as a continuation of stereotyped ethnic image. In both case study situations, these negative impacts are difficult to isolate from the broader effects of the social, cultural and economic developments of society in general.

Major issues.

The case studies also reveal that the two ethnic interpretive centres face similar paradoxical issues that appear to be inherent in ethnic tourism development. Although there are great physical and cultural distances between the two sites, both must deal with issues of: nation-state regulation versus ethnic control, the tendency toward freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution, and cultural pluralism versus integration. How to appropriately deal with these paradoxical issues represents another unresolved challenge for both of the attractions in their pursuit of long term sustainability.

Strategies.

Both of the sites have adopted explicate and implicate strategies for development, however, these strategies have not fully addressed the major inherent issues of ethnic tourism development. Both sites have recognized the importance of building a strong diversified revenue base in order to finance their respective tourism development and operation, but neither of them has associated their efforts of building up alternative financial base specifically with strengthening appropriate ethnic control of the development. Although a more independent operational budget for both sites offers possibility of increasing ethnic control, this possibility needs to be clearly identified in relation to the

objective of diversifying the operational budget resource. Without appropriate ethnic control, it is probable that economic benefits will be inequitably distributed between the industry entrepreneurs and ethnic minority community. This inequitable distribution of economic benefits may undermine the support for ethnic tourism, and reduce the potential of sustainable development. The lack of strategies for addressing the major issues represents another unresolved challenge for both of the sites in their pursuit of long term sustainability.

Differences

While the two attractions have to deal with a number of similar unresolved challenges, each site also has its own particular problems based on their respective social, cultural and political environments. These different problems can also be considered in the context of the development process, major issues, and strategies.

Development process.

Lack of appropriate ethnic control at the two sites is explained by distinct sets of factors. In the Chinese situation, the government's strong influence presents barriers to the exercise of ethnic control. The central government controls the tourism industry through its national, provincial, and regional administrative bodies as manifested in the National Tourism Administration and its local tourism bureaus. Although, in theory, an ethnic regional government stands as an autonomous administrative entity, it has no supreme authority over the tourism business of the region. It is the National Tourism Administration that regulates the nation's tourism industry through its regional representatives, the regional tourism bureaus. In the Canadian situation, however, the governments influence the Wanuskewin Heritage Park through its economic power. Presently, Wanuskewin Heritage

Park's capital budget funding is largely dependent on federal, provincial and municipal governments as well as public and private organizations. As a result, the Park's independence is more theoretical than practical. The economic influence from the state and business organizations may overshadow ethnic control even though this influence is meant to support ethnic cultural enterprise.

In marketing ethnic culture, the two attractions move in different directions. The Yunnan Folk Culture Village focuses on marketing the contemporary ethnic minority culture while Wanuskewin Heritage Park emphasizes on a historic perspective. In Yunnan Folk Culture Village, culture programming is characterized by a very selective procedure. Only those elements which are judged to reflect "healthy and progressive aspects of minority life" are presented. Thus the authenticity of ethnic culture may be compromised in favour of showing the unity of the Chinese nationalities under the leadership of the Communist Party (CNTA, 1994). In the Wanuskewin Heritage Park, the focus on precontact culture may cater to some tourists' need of seeking an exotic, primitive and natural "elsewhere" different from their own modern life, but it fails to recognize contemporary Indian culture, thereby inadvertently leaving the false impression that the native culture has not changed.

Ethnic responses and adaptation to tourism development also present specific challenges for the two sites. In the Chinese situation, the present perception of tourism as a "gold rush" has a great impact on the operation of the Village. Commercial activities seem to be the dominant theme in each ethnic section of the site. There are many souvenir arts and crafts shops in the Village, and ethnic dances occur throughout the day for paying customers. These commercial activities may lead to unmitigated adaptation of ethnic people to the modern commercialized society which may, in the process, erode the traditional ethnic culture and social values vital to the survival of ethnic tourism. In the Canadian case,

however, appropriate ethnic economic development may be limited by the cultural conflict at a more fundamental, societal level. Although healing the gap between Indians and non-Indians is precisely what the Park is trying to accomplish, the healing process requires a supportive social environment. Since many socio-economic disparities between Indian and non-Indian people still exist, ethnocentric distrust and prejudice may make Indian and non-Indian cooperation difficult to carry out at Wanuskewin. Without cooperative efforts by the both ethnic groups, economic sustainability of the Park will be difficult to achieve.

Major issues.

The two attractions are also facing different challenges in dealing with the major issues of tourism development. In Yunnan Folk Culture Village a barrier to ethnic control exists in form of restrictive government labour control and human resource regulations. These regulations allow little possibility for people from rural areas to get stable jobs in urban cities, thereby effectively restricting ethnic minority people, who tend to come from rural areas, to contract based operational positions at the Village. In Wanuskewin, there is no state regulation which precludes jobs for ethnic people, however, two parallel cultural systems present difficulty for ethnic people to take a more active role in planning and management of the Park. Since the Canadian institutionalized culture system is dominated by European roots, the Indian people are of a disadvantage compared with Canadians of European descent in securing the qualifications necessary for them to achieve planning and management positions.

In terms of the phenomenon of freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution, the associated causes are very different for each attraction. In the Chinese case, fast social, cultural and economic changes that accompany ethnic tourism may overwhelm attempts to conserve ethnic traditions and customs. In the Canadian case, the tendency toward

presenting precontact culture neglects the fact that ethnic people need natural social, cultural and economic changes to update their contemporary life in a modern society. Both of the tendencies, fast change without necessary conservation and freezing ethnic culture, are detrimental to sustainable ethnic tourism. Culturally based ethnic tourism itself is a promoter of change. At the same time its own survival needs preservation and protection of unique ethnic cultures. The solution to this dilemma may be to encourage ethnic-based community development programmes to predict and plan change with minimum input from the outside force except transferring ideas (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1971). In that sense, ethnic autonomy is vital to balancing conservation and change which is characteristic of culturally based ethnic tourism.

Since the communist China has only been opened to the world for 15 years, the contemporary global culture has not been able to deeply penetrate its remote ethnic regions where traditions and customs are still unique. Cultural pluralism is not under immediate threat in the Chinese situation. However, considering the recent fast growth of the country's economy, as well as Yunnan's location close to progressive Southeast Asian countries, there is a risk that uncontrolled integration of ethnic minority life encouraged by tourism development will soon affect cultural distinctiveness on which the Village is based. In Wanuskewin, the challenge associated with the issues of cultural pluralism versus integration is different. Cultural pluralism accounts for the essence of the Park's cultural programming and interpretation. But ongoing pressure to assimilate into dominating Eurocentric culture has affected the Indian cultures greatly. In addition, the institutionalization and socialization process associated with tourism development will integrate Indian people further with mainstream society. The past assimilation and current integration present a great challenge for Wanuskewin Heritage Park's commitment of fostering cultural pluralism through the

revival of the Indian culture.

Strategies.

There are many differences in how the two sites address the development issues, and in challenges they face in the resolution of the issues. The first difference is that the Canadian Park has completed comprehensive and sophisticated tourism impact assessments (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992a) relative to the Chinese site. The Chinese site does have strategies for addressing development issues, but these strategies focus on the economic aspect of development with little consideration on the cultural and environmental aspects of tourism development. For example, the author was told by a manager of the Village that there were no resource management plan, marketing plan or training plan for addressing development issues of the site. This claim may reflect the reluctance on the part of the Village to publicize their development strategies.

In contrast to the Chinese site, Wanuskewin presents a comparatively more advanced stage of development with its prepared impact assessment report, resource management plan, marketing plan, and training plan, but an examination of these development strategies reveals certain problems. The impact assessment is limited to cultural and natural environment conservation and neglects the strategies for adaptation and adjustment to the natural social/cultural changes. In terms of resource management, the Park has comprehensive strategies regarding the use of traditional culture but neglects the importance of developing contemporary culture programmes to present a complete image of ethnic life. All these problems show there is a lot to be done in identifying appropriate strategies for tourism development at both sites, especially the strategies specifically addressing the major social/ cultural and economic issues of ethnic tourism. These strategies need to be developed soon in order to secure the long term sustainability of the two sites.

B. Positive achievements

Tourism's paradoxical nature of co-existent benefits and costs makes the task of sustainable development a challenge of maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs. Having recognized the unresolved challenges, the next step is to identify the positive outcomes of these ethnic tourism attractions. These positive outcomes are the impacts that future ethnic interpretive centres may strive to emulate. Logically, both sites should try to maximize the benefits and minimize the associated costs of ethnic tourism in their pursuit of sustainability.

The case studies show that there are many positive achievements associated with the two attractions (Figure 6.2). These achievements can be categorized into the social/cultural, economic and environmental realms based on the illustration of manifestation of destination impacts (Figure 2.2). However, it must be remembered that these positive impacts are complex since all the three realms are interconnected and the tourism system as a whole is not closed to outside influence. Therefore, many of these positive achievements are the "anti-thesis" of the unresolved challenges. This reality further highlights the importance of maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs in the development of sustainable ethnic tourism attractions.

In the social/cultural realm, progress has been made toward increased ethnic control at both attractions. In the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, the shift toward ethnic control is a result of current central government policies of political and economic reform which has effectively forced the Village to seek more ethnic participation. Due to economic necessity, more ethnic businesses are being invited to operate the Village facilities. In Wanuskewin, the hope of potential increase of ethnic control is based on the belief that successful tourism business may help build an economic base for more exercise of ethnic control. The Park's

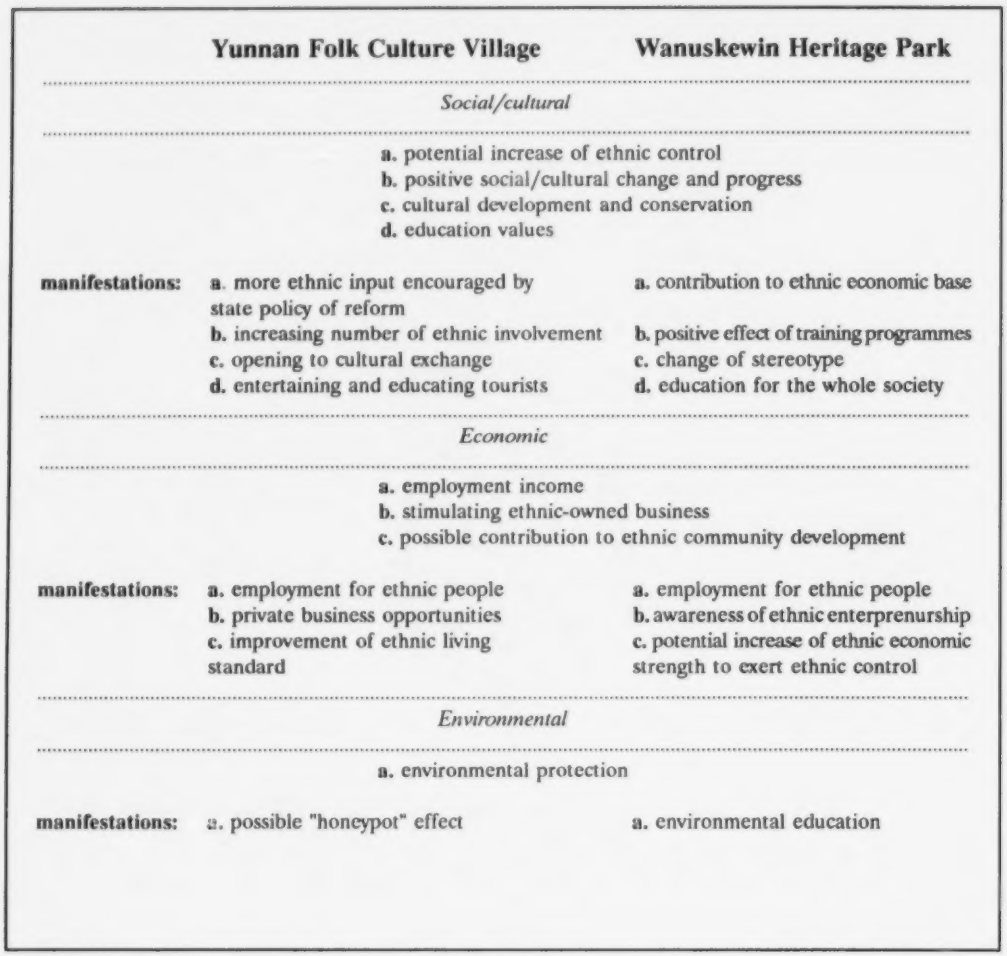
Yunnan Folk Culture Village
Wanuskewin Heritage Park
Social/cultural
a. potential increase of ethnic control
b. positive social/cultural change and progress
c. cultural development and conservation
d. education values
manifestations:
a. more ethnic input encouraged by state policy of reform
b. increasing number of ethnic involvement
c. opening to cultural exchange
d. entertaining and educating tourists
a. contribution to ethnic economic base
b. positive effect of training programmes
c. change of stereotype
d. education for the whole society
Economic
a. employment income
b. stimulating ethnic-owned business
c. possible contribution to ethnic community development
manifestations:
a. employment for ethnic people
b. private business opportunities
c. improvement of ethnic living standard
a. employment for ethnic people
b. awareness of ethnic enterprenurship
c. potential increase of ethnic economic strength to exert ethnic control
Environmental
a. environmental protection
manifestations:
a. possible "honeypot" effect
a. environmental education

Figure 6.2. Positive achievements made by the two attractions

current attempt to increase its economic independence may lead to ethnic cultural independence.

Both Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park may work as accelerators for positive social/cultural change of ethnic life. In the Chinese case, the increasing number of ethnic minority members participating in tourism businesses is

liberating ethnic minority people from the traditional farming life. Ethnic minority women's roles in tourism activities are accordingly changing women's social status in ethnic society where traditionally women were less valued than men. In Wanuskewin, the training programmes cover a wide range of knowledge about Indian culture from the perspectives of archaeology, natural and cultural history, and contemporary administrative issues (Wanuskewin Heritage Park, 1992b). An improved understanding of Indian culture and the merits of traditional Indian knowledge are positive benefits to both natives and non-natives.

The two sites' roles in developing and protecting ethnic culture are also positive achievements with their important merit. Yunnan Folk Culture Village opens the window of cultural exchange for the Chinese ethnic minorities who have been isolated from other cultures for generations, thereby promoting national and international understanding between hosts and guests. This cultural exchange process not only provides visitors a chance of appreciating ethnic culture, but helps the ethnic minority groups build a sense of value of their own cultures. This benefit will enhance the long term development and conservation of ethnic cultures. In Wanuskewin, the positive presentation of Indian history and cultural values is improving the way that non-Indian people view Indian culture and history. The past assimilation practice of Indian people caused many of them to become detached from their heritage. This practice also blinded many non-Indian people to the nature of Indian culture. The Park may present the beginning of the education of society about the rebirth of Indian culture. As this two-way education introduces new ideas to the surrounding Indian communities, tourism may function as a means of reinforcing the positive aspects of ethnic uniqueness to both hosts and guests. In this education process the ethnic minority hosts will learn that it is the traditional aspects of their culture which define the ethnic groups' separation from the tourists' cultures. Therefore, the presentation of

Indian culture at Wanuskewin appears to be changing the negative stereotypes that Euro-Canadians have of Indian people, and is contributing toward a broader awareness of the need to develop and protect Indian culture.

In the economic realm, the two attractions have been successful in generating ethnic employment income, stimulating ethnic owned businesses, and offering potential for further economic development within the ethnic community. In the case of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, first, it not only provides jobs for many people of ethnic minority groups, but also functions as a training centre to create better qualified personnel to plan and manage cultural, economic and political affairs of future ethnic community development. Second, the marketing of ethnic arts and crafts by the Village benefits private business for the ethnic minorities, since most of the handicraft products are "cottage crafts" made at ethnic minority household levels.

Wanuskewin Heritage Park is also a very important source of ethnic group employment. According to Jim, one of the managers at the Park, "Aboriginal unemployment in Saskatchewan is very high". So the fact that 90 percent staff at the Park is of the First Nations descent (Morgan, 1994) is a considerable contribution to increasing Indian employment. In addition, the opportunities that the Park creates for the First Nations people to run businesses, such as the gift shop and the restaurant, enhance the ethnic sense of independent entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial role models will encourage the growth of other ethnic owned businesses, thereby contributing to the creation of a strong economic base enabling the exercise of more ethnic control.

The practice at both sites has indicated a promise of environmental protection. The Yunnan Folk Culture Village to a large extent resembles the idea of a "honeypot" (Ryan, 1991). Presently, the Folk Culture Village is attempting to introduce tourists to its

surrounding ethnic areas through the attraction rather than keeping them on site to relieve the pressure on naturally and culturally sensitive ethnic places. However, as tourism grows and places increasing pressure on the ethnic environment, the sense of protection must also increase, otherwise sustainability of ethnic tourism is impossible. The Village may be transformed into a "honeypot" to relieve the pressure of mass tourism on the sensitive ethnic hinterland areas.

Environmental education is a very important aspect of Wanuskewin's cultural programming. An important factor that contributed to the establishment of Wanuskewin Heritage Park was "a perceived need to turn back to tribal roots and the wisdom of Elders to solve global ecological problems" (StarPhoniex, 1992: C19). Wanuskewin educates its visitors that the essence of the First Nations life-style is an important cultural asset with spiritual and environmental values that foster communication between all human beings. This environmental education is very necessary in our contemporary world where ecosystems are endangered by irresponsible human action.

A comparison of the two case studies reveals that there are unresolved challenges as well as positive achievements in the pursuit of sustainable ethnic tourism at the two attractions. It would be unrealistic to expect the operation of these ethnic tourism attractions to be trouble free. However, it is possible that challenges can be met if positive achievements are identified and purposely sought. The basic requirement for any tourism development should be that it move toward positive achievements and a reduction of the negative impacts.

VII. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After identifying the unresolved challenges and positive achievements associated with the operation and management of the two sites, a response is needed to the basic research question, whether cultural tourism attractions in the form of ethnic interpretive centres represent a promising approach to sustainable tourism. This chapter will provide some practical recommendations for the two sites along with theoretical implications for sustainable ethnic tourism development. The chapter is divided into the following sections: summary of the research findings, recommendations for built ethnic tourism attractions, and theoretical implications.

A. Summary of the research findings

This research shows that the Yunnan Folk Cultural Village, China, and Wanuskewin Heritage Park, Canada, are well staged ethnic tourism attractions and appropriate for a comparative analysis. Despite their physical difference, the two attractions' key functions are similar: to provide a focal spot for the expression and interpretation of the cultural heritage of ethnic groups (Chinese minorities and Canadian Great Plains Native Indians) as well as opportunities for cultural activities that promote and strengthen the ethnic minority cultures (CNTA, 1993; Morgan, 1992). The basic research problem was addressed through each of the three subproblems.

Subproblem one was "to compare the process of ethnic tourism development in the two attractions". The research findings show that the two sites share certain similarities and many differences in terms of the challenges they face in their respective ethnic tourism development processes. However, each attraction has realized significant positive

achievements in their respective development processes that indicate the potential of sustainability.

In ethnic tourism development, the critical element is that Indigenous peoples must be allowed to control their own cultural and territorial resources (Bodley, 1990; Swain, 1989). The case study analysis of the autonomy exercised by the ethnic minority groups within each nation-state shows that ethnic groups of the two countries are gaining more confidence and self-assertion in exercising ethnic control. There is the potential for increasing ethnic control, accelerated by ethnic tourism development, because tourism arouses ethnic social/cultural, political and economic awareness. Both case studies reveal that ethnic tourism can be a positive force for ethnic revitalization, cultural understanding, and economic development. These positive social, cultural and economic forces gained by ethnic people in tourism development are vital to exercising sufficient ethnic control and ensuring long term sustainability.

The research also successfully addressed subproblem two: "to compare the major issues associated with the two ethnic tourism attractions". The research findings suggest that there are inherent contradictions between conservation and change in the process of development which are the cause of these paradoxical issues (Swain, 1989). Sufficient ethnic autonomy is vital to balancing conservation and change.

Both case studies show that tourism development may lead to a restructuring of social, cultural and economic relationships within the two destinations. First, while tourism promotes ethnic culture (which may have been previously suppressed as primitive and uncivilized), it also increases an ethnic sense of legal rights which the government at all levels must accordingly validate. Second, while tourism tends to provide "frozen" ethnic culture for tourists consumption, it also contributes to the cultural evolution of the hosts

through the interaction with the guests. Tourism encourages ethnic minority people to modify their values and therefore their cultural identity by co-opting them into socioeconomic partnership with other groups. Cultural pluralism takes root in an national integration process which is encouraged by tourism development. What is appreciated by the tourists as traditional culture phenomena may be an inspiration for ethnic people to develop new cultural elements so that traditions and customs can continue to be alive and vibrant. The increasing sense of education and ethnic entrepreneurship shown at both sites is a very good case in point. In general, the analysis of the relationships between these major issues encourages rather than constrains ethnic tourism development, because if it is well planned and appropriately balanced, ethnic tourism can be "returned to the people so that the experience of travel can enrich all" (Gonsalves, 1987: 9).

The research also addresses the third subproblem: "to identify and assess the strategies employed by each attraction for the resolution of issues in the pursuit of sustainable ethnic tourism". The study shows that the two sites have their own respective strategies for development but these strategies, fall short of fully addressing the inherent paradoxical issues of ethnic tourism.

In the Chinese case, strategies are largely economic development oriented while social/cultural and environmental aspects of tourism are not prominent. Although economic profits generated by tourism activity may bring some short-term gains in China's regional or national modernization process, the consequence of this kind of development may be overwhelming for two reasons. Firstly, over-fast development may consume many resources which China cannot afford; consequently, ethnic tourism may soon lose the vital resource for sustainability. Secondly, as a developing country, China is more vulnerable to the negative social/cultural and environmental impacts of tourism. Without appropriate

conservation strategies, ethnic tourism may be damaged by itself when its social/cultural and environmental basis is destroyed.

Although Wanuskewin Heritage Park presents more sophisticated strategies for development than does Yunnan Folk Culture Village, the issues vital to sustainable ethnic tourism have not been priorities. While much consideration was given to conservation, developing new strategies to adapt to socioeconomic change caused by tourism has not drawn enough attention from Wanuskewin developers. The socialization and institutionalization characterized by tourism development makes conservation extremely challenging. Without continuity--the positive input from cultural change, conservation will be meaningless since a culture will be stagnated. Other issues such as nation-state regulation versus ethnic control and cultural pluralism versus integration still need to be addressed more effectively in Wanuskewin development strategies in order to secure its status as a sustainable ethnic tourism attraction.

The two case studies show that it is possible to achieve sustainable ethnic tourism. However, opportunities and challenges coexist in the pursuit of sustainability. Cultural tourism attractions in the form of ethnic interpretive centres do represent promising approaches to sustainable tourism. However, neither interpretive centre offers a panacea. This research found that there are both common and individual challenges as well as opportunities evident in the operation and management of the two sites. Identification of these challenges and opportunities enables the development of practical recommendations for this form of cultural tourism attractions.

B. Recommendations for built ethnic tourism attractions

General recommendation can be drawn from the research. The improvement of the

sustainability of ethnic interpretive centres as tourism attractions rests on a three-pointed foundation: theoretical and practical confirmation of ethnic guidance and leadership; overall identification of tourism's inherent social/cultural issues; and, appropriate strategies for the resolutions of these issues.

Specific strategies for the resolution of the issues may differ between each case study as the different contexts of the two attractions may outweigh the commonalities between them. Regarding the similarities and differences of the two attractions, three general recommendations are made:

> Recommendation 1
> The barriers to ethnic control must be reduced throughout ethnic tourism attractions' development process. Building a solid economic base for ethnic control is the key to reducing the barriers.

As shown in the study, ethnic autonomy is the government policy (The People's Daily, 1995; Patterson, 1982) in both countries but difficult to completely exercise because of certain social/cultural and economic barriers. For the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, it is necessary for the developers to make a further break-through of the state human resource management regulations thereby enabling more qualified ethnic minority staff to assume managerial positions. As the Chinese central government's present policy of reform encourages more input from the local decision makers, the Village should take bold and creative actions in developing the site instead of passively adjusting its development direction to the government policy changes. As the state labour control and human resource management regulations may change in the current process of social and political reform, the Village should be more creative in providing managerial positions for currently qualified ethnic minority employees.

The education function in Wanuskewin Heritage Park should be strengthened. The barriers to exercising ethnic control of the Park are not only socioeconomic but also

historical. The Park should continue to help Indian people build sense of identity and self-esteem. It also has a responsibility to educate the mainstream society and build an appreciation of ethnic culture, thereby creating space in the mainstream society for ethnic culture to exist. Furthermore, the Park should seek alternative ways to diversify its operational budget resources. The present financial dependency on outside government agencies should be reduced to the minimum otherwise the Park's independent power may not be strong enough to exert larger social influence. For both attractions, it must be remembered that cultural commodification is a very important process in ethnic tourism. This commodification process must facilitate the exchange of ethnic culture for a financial return to ethnic minority people, and finally lead to the establishment of an economic base to strengthen ethnic autonomy.

Recommendation 2
The inherent social/cultural issues of ethnic tourism must be recognized and addressed so that development opportunities can be encouraged and challenges reduced.

For the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, the present economic drive should be well balanced with conservation of the cultural and natural resources that are vital to its own long-term development. The tendency toward using ethnic tourism only for economic benefits must be avoided and grounds for ethnic group sustainability must be established in the development process. In doing so, the commodification of ethnic culture for tourism must be under sufficient ethnic control. The present situation of ethnic minority people being located on the periphery of decision making process must be changed as soon as possible.

For Wanuskewin Heritage Park, the tendency toward freezing ethnic culture must be adjusted to permit positive change so that a complete ethnic image as well as a living and vibrant ethnic culture can be presented. One of the educational objectives of Wanuskewin

is to change the stereotyped image of the Indian population by the dominant society in the past. The Park should look at the Indian culture from both the historical and contemporary perspectives, balancing the ideas of conservation and change in its mandate to protect and develop the Indian cultural heritage. A frozen Indian culture with no presentation of contemporary life may serve to reinforce the stereotyped image of the Indian population as primitive people. If this stereotyped image is produced by inappropriate tourism, it will undercut the Indian people's sense of identity and self worth even though it may provide economic income.

For both attractions, the environment vital to the success of ethic tourism consists of both cultural and natural aspects. It must be recognized that neither environmental aspect is static. To keep a healthy cultural environment for successful development, conservation is not enough, because historically cultural change has taken place accidentally, such as new ideas or techniques being passed from one culture to another without any deliberate, conscious effort. This kind of change has continued right up to the present and will continue in the future with all societies (Arensberg and Niehoff, 1971). Taking this cultural change into consideration, both sites have to develop strategies for creating a culturally and naturally sound environment for ethnic tourism development, therefore:

> Recommendation 3
> Development strategies must seek to achieve an appropriate balance between conservation and change in pursuit of sustainability.

Tourism destinations change and evolve over time. "The paradox of tourism is that it can impair and even destroy the very qualities of the environment which attract people in the first place" (Sadler, 1988: x). Theoretically built cultural tourism attractions in the form of ethnic interpretive centres are planned and managed to avoid this consequence (Gunn, 1994). However, in practice both sites still have to adopt appropriate strategies

addressing the paradoxes of tourism that may lead to this result. There are at least three reasons for passing this recommendation. First, a cycle of development is characteristic of tourism destinations (Butler, 1980). There are parallel stages in the evolution and impact of tourism. This process begins with the initial exploration and discovery of a tourist site by visitors, followed by more expansive development stages. As development increases the limits to the tourism sites, carrying capacity are approached. Near this limits the pressure placed on tourism resource by over-development will lead to congestion, physical deterioration of facilities and services, erosion in quality of the experience, falling tourist totals or downmarket substitution, and reductions in revenue (Sadler, 1988). Consequently, all these effects will be felt throughout the ethnic community. The end result is one of stagnation or decline. Examples of this process are found in all parts of the world (deKat, 1979). For the Yunnan Folk Culture Village, the present high visitation should be balanced with the attraction's actual capability to attract and accommodate tourists. The mistake of regarding ethnic tourism as a "gold rush" should be avoided otherwise pressure on the cultural resources will soon lead to congestion, physical deterioration of facilities and services, and erosion in the quality of the tourist experiences. The Village should develop appropriate strategies to protect the cultural resources. At the same time, it should seek ways of reducing the negative impacts related to development, so that sustainability of ethnic tourism can be ensured.

Second, since tourism itself is a promoter of social and cultural change, consideration should be given to an ethnic tourism attraction's cultural programmes regarding the legitimation of new pursuits in the ethnic minority community. For Wanuskewin Heritage Park, it must be acknowledged that traditional and mythical stereotypes of Indian people should be avoided otherwise it may blind external perception of the Indian community's

present day needs. "Non-Indians have too frequently imposed their own concepts of legitimate tradition upon particular Indian tribes." (Hollinshead, 1992: 56) As a sacred place for Indian people, Wanuskewin should not be a place for the guest to "accord 'Indian-ity'" (Hollinshead, 1992: 56), or attempt to approve or deny change. It should be a place where Indian people can be found as any other Canadian ethnic group with its own right to convert and substitute as it sees fit. Otherwise the paradox of freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution will stay unresolved and will reduce the sustainability of the Park.

Third, as tourism in a particular location changes overtime, so do the resources needed to attract and sustain tourism and associated developments (Butler, 1993). Planners and managers of the two sites must realize that the market for a particular ethnic cultural product will evolve over time. While current destinations based on selling sun, sea and sand still hold appeal to tourists, the world market is changing along with tourism products. Burgeoning ethnic tourism demand is itself a good case in point. This growing demand for ethnic tourism and the shrinking market of traditional tourism product indicate that an ethnic tourism attraction is very dynamic. It is different from any other tourism attraction in the past, and it should not be the same in the future as it is today. The paradox is that sustainable development implies some measure of stability and permanence, so there must be consistent aspects in the evolution of a tourism attraction. Taking ethnic tourism into consideration, the maintenance of ethnic identity must be one of the central consistent aspects in the evolution of an attraction. Both sites have indicated that it is the very existence of the ethnic boundary (Swain, 1989) that creates them. The issue is compounded by a merging of the boundaries between ethnic minority groups, the dominant populations, and international tourists, which creates a dynamic mix for the two sites. One could argue, therefore, that tourists who are interested in the present cultural programmes of the sites

may change their preference very rapidly, creating a major problem for the two attractions' tourism planning, balancing socioeconomic integration of ethnic groups with the promotion of ethnic minority cultures and ethnic pride. The two sites should recognize what elements of ethnic tourism are subject to change, and what elements are consistent within this change. Then they should plan for activities which reflect this constant change. With a sufficient degree of ethnic control in tourism planning, this strategy will successfully address the paradoxical issues of freezing ethnic culture versus cultural evolution as well as cultural pluralism versus integration.

C. Theoretical implications

The operation and management of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park are consistent with the economic perspective of ethnic tourism presented in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.1). Ethnic culture is the resource but the tourism products are the interpretive programmes offered at the Village and the Park. The study has clearly demonstrated the coexistence of benefits and costs at each of these sites. These benefits and costs are reflected in the social/cultural, economic and environmental realms (Figure 2.2) within the destination. Sustainable development requires a net positive balance and is pursued by attempting to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs associated with the three realms. This is no easy task since decisions must be made and strategies developed in a dynamic environment containing many interrelated variables. Ethnic interpretive centres as cultural tourism attractions are, therefore, far from being panaceas for ethnic minority people. However, it can be one option for economic development which provides a rationale for continued ethnic identity, ethnic rights, and cultural diversity. To obtain a positive outcome, it is important that ethnic interpretive centres take a path of: exercising

appropriate ethnic control in the development process, recognizing the paradoxical issues of ethnic tourism; and, developing strategies for the resolutions of the issues. For these attractions to be sustainable, a pattern of cooperation between the state, the industry, and ethnic groups needs to be developed in pursuit of a common interest.

Nowadays, increased travel demand places much greater responsibility on planners and designers to create attractions that protect cultural resources and yet open them for visitor enrichment (Gunn, 1994). Therefore, a holistic view of tourism is needed to ensure the long term success of Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park as ethnic tourism attractions. While it is normal for economic considerations to drive development, sustainable tourism strategies recognize that in the long run these objectives can only be met if the major issues of tourism are appropriately addressed and social/cultural and environmental resources are maintained. Accordingly, tourism impacts must be considered in the social/cultural and environmental realms as well as the economic realm. Given the importance of ethnic heritage as the nucleus of an attraction, a policy which integrates all three of these realms is required in order to develop the attraction in a sustainable manner.

The first and perhaps fundamental requirement of this kind of a policy is that planners and decision makers should integrate an ethnic tourism attraction into the ethnic community. "For tourism, cultural development is a part of attraction development, an essential part of new economic and social input of community." (Gunn, 1994: 354) It is necessary, therefore, to coordinate the ethnic minority people involved in the economic development, design, and planning of the attraction. Resolution of the inherent paradoxical issues of an ethnic tourism attraction need to be sought using the acknowledged rights of ethnic minorities within a national setting. Conventional wisdom in international

development programmes notes that adaptation of economic interventions to the local culture and incorporation of indigenous decision making processes are critical ingredients for sustainable results (Morss and Gow, 1985). Any plans for ethnic tourism development should be formulated with not only an understanding the host culture, but must involve the ethnic society fully in all levels of decision making (Swain, 1989).

Commodification of ethnic culture is an important process in developing ethnic tourism attractions. This commodification process can be used as a positive mechanism in the pursuit of sustainable tourism development. The two sites' operation and management have proven that this process may be used to determine the nature of cultural products and the control of access to these products in terms of how they will be offered for consumption by tourists. By using this mechanism appropriately, the competitiveness of the attraction will be strengthened. Having this competitiveness is vital for an ethnic attraction and the destinations in which it is located. An ethnic tourism attraction should make ethnic sites, events, festivals, art forms into living, interactive, and animated programmes without sacrificing their cultural integrity.

It is normal for tourists of another culture to be both fascinated and apprehensive about a destination's different cultural and social structures. An appropriate strategy for meeting these conflicting demands is to carefully protect the integrity of an ethnic attraction while modifying supporting infrastructure and services to more closely conform to tourist expectations (Wahab, 1975). Given the comprehensive nature of culture and ethnicity, however, special care needs to be given to what constitutes an ethnic attraction and what constitutes infrastructure and service. In conjunction with this approach, education programmes for tourists as well as hosts would be useful in clarifying appropriate behaviour (Harron and Weiler, 1992). Hopefully this type of interpretation would lead to appropriate

behaviour and increased understanding between tourists and ethnic hosts.

At the same time, efforts must be made to maintain the ethnic integrity of an ethnic tourism attraction. Ethnic tourism business "can turn exotic cultures into commodities and individuals into amusing 'objects' for tourist 'consumption" (Klieger, 1990: 38). As a result, novel encounters gradually become routine for both tourists and the ethnic hosts, and cultural presentations become more and more removed from the reality of everyday life. The related temptation to "freeze" culture in time should be avoided. Culture is not a static entity as all "viable cultures are in the process of 'making themselves up' all the time" (Greenwood, 1982: 27). There are numerous forces in addition to tourism that influence cultural change. Tourism planners and managers need to anticipate major trends and take them into consideration.

The Chinese ethnic minorities and the Canadian Indian cultures offer considerable promise as international attractions in their respective destinations. Both countries' wealth of ethnic tourism resources present a tremendous opportunity for development not only in the short term but also in the long term. The establishment of the Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park have already presented promising initiatives to sustainable ethnic tourism development. Their operation and management have also proven, however, that the path to sustainability can be obstructed with a variety of social/cultural, economic and environmental issues that must be carefully negotiated. This process has been initiated by the two sites but bold and creative actions are still required to maximize the assorted benefits of ethnic tourism while minimizing the associated costs.

To conclude, this study has presented ethnic tourism development at the Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park mainly from the perspective of the state, the tourism industry and the ethnic communities. The study did not investigate

changes in tourists' knowledge about ethnic minority peoples. It has been suggested by interviewed subjects at both Yunnan Folk Culture Village and Wanuskewin Heritage Park that educating tourists about ethnic culture is important for sustainable ethnic tourism. One of the future directions for ethnic tourism attraction research could be the investigation of how the changes in tourists' knowledge about ethnic culture can contribute to sustainable ethnic tourism. Finally, this study followed Swain's (1989) model of indigenous tourism development and attempted to prove the model's validity in the context of a particular type of cultural tourism attraction. Research findings support Swain's model as conducive to the study of the sustainability of an ethnic tourism attraction in certain aspects, such as the importance of exercising sufficient ethnic control and addressing major paradoxical issues of ethnic tourism. However, additional contributions could have been made through this study if investigation went beyond Swain's categories of nation-state, tourism industry, and ethnic group to address more issues which are equally important. This study has contributed to the understanding of the sustainability of cultural tourism development in the form of ethnic interpretive centres, and by so doing, it has provided a stronger foundation for future research in this area.

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APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

China:

1. Yang: Government official, Kunming Dianchi National Tourist and Vacation Zone, of Bai ethnic minority descent

2. Shuren: Government official, former chief of Dai minority tribe at Xi Shuang Banna Dai ethnic region

3. Tianli: Tourism researcher, former planner of Yunnan Folk Culture Village, of Han ethnic majority descent

4. Zhongzhi: A manager, Yunnan Folk Culture Village, of Han majority descent

5. Hong: A Dai ethnic minority tour manager from a travel agency in Kunming

6. Yanhua: A Va ethnic minority programme hostess, Yunnan Folk Culture Village

7. Yin: A Bai ethnic minority vendor at Butterfly Spring, Dali Bai Autonomous County

8. Cindy, Irene, Mark, and Susan: Backpackers from the UK and the US

Canada:

1. Leon: Saskatchewan provincial government official, of Indian descent

2. Dan: Saskatchewan provincial government official, of European descent

3. Jim: A manager of Wanuskewin Heritage Park, of European descent

4. Tina: An employee of Wanuskewin Heritage Park, of Indian descent

5. Stone: Educator, of Indian descent

6. Walter: Indian story teller

7. Steve: Indian elder

APPENDIX 2

University of Alberta

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

A Comparative Study of Ethnic Tourism Attractions in China and Canada

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Purpose: More and more tourists are travelling in pursuit of cultural experiences including those associated with other ethnic groups. However, the sensitive nature of cultural resources represents a very real challenge if this activity is to be sustainable over the long term. One of the more promising approaches to sustainability has been the establishment of built ethnic culture interpretive centres. This study is an exploration of this approach.

Method: A comparative case study approach will be used as a way of articulating similarities and differences between two ethnic tourism attractions: Yunnan Folk Culture Village in Kunming, China, and Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatoon, Canada. These sites function as focal points for the interpretation of the indigenous people of the region but also differ in terms of their respective environmental contexts. A systematic comparison of these case studies will help to clarify the value of this approach to sustainable ethnic tourism. The data required to develop these case studies will include existing documents and information collected through semi-structured interviews with representatives from the respective state authorities, the attraction itself, and the ethnic group featured at the attractions.

Sponsorship: The principal researcher of this thesis project is Mr. Yiping Li, a graduate student of University of Alberta. This research project is funded by University of Alberta and supervised by Dr. Tom Hinch. Mr. Yiping Li is responsible for the research interviews conducted both in China and Canada.

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Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

Phone:(403) 492-2759 Fax: (403) 492-2364

A Comparative Study of Ethnic Tourism Attractions in China and Canada

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Participation in study: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Our discussion will last between 30 and 60 minutes and you may, at any time, choose not to answer any question or not to continue our conservation. I will be happy to answer any additional questions that you may have about the study.

Participant identity will be confidential: Individuals will not be specifically identified in future publications or presentations related to this material. Acknowledgements will be restricted to the agency or group with which you are associated (e.g. tourism attraction operators). All information recorded on audio-tape, interview notes and transcribed documents will be kept strictly confidential for the exclusive use of this project. Audio-tapes will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

*****

By signing this consent form, I am agreeing to participate in this project (with the full knowledge that my comments will be kept confidential). I may also refuse any question and may end my involvement at any time without penalty.

Participant's name:_____

Date:_____

Participant's signature:_____

Interviewer's signature:_____

APPENDIX 3

University of Alberta
Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation
A Comparative Study of Ethnic Tourism Attractions in China and Canada
INFORMED CONSENT FORM
(Chinese Version)

调 研 计 划

中加民族旅游景点比较研究

目的: 了解异族文化正成为越来越多旅游者的旅游目的。然而，文化资源的敏感特点也使民族旅游景点的健康发展富于挑战意义。兴建民族旅游村展示了发展民族旅游的希望前景。此项研究旨在探索这一希望的途径。

方法: 用比较案例分析的方法展示中国昆明民族村，加拿大萨斯卡通印第安文化村在发展上的异同之处。系统的案例比较将重点分析和论证兴建民族村的价值及其为健康发展民族文化旅游的贡献。研究数据及资料的收集以两个来源为主：现有的有关书面材料及非正式采访旅游从业人员、政府官员、普通游客和民众所得材料。

研究资助单位: 加拿大阿尔伯塔大学为该项研究的主要资助单位。李一平先生是阿尔伯塔大学研究生，该研究助理研究员。他负责该研究的中国部分。如需进一步了解该项研究，请联系：

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接受采访协议书

中、加民族旅游景点比较研究

目的: 分析比较中国-加拿大民族旅游景点建设案例(中国昆明民族村，加拿大萨斯卡通印第安民族村)，探讨健康发展民族旅游之途径。

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传真: (403)492-2364

同意采访协议:
我自愿参加该项研究活动。在以下的30-60分钟采访中我有权回答或不回答任何提问。我也可以随时终止采访交谈。我有权对该研究提出任何质疑。

被采访人权益:
被采访人之隐私权将得到绝对尊重，其身份将不在与该研究有关的任何书面发表材料上曝光。研究论文发表时必要的致谢词只涉及受访人工作单位或集体(如旅游局、旅行社等)。采访所制之一切声、像记录材料只用于该研究之范围，并在研究完成时立即销毁。

在此协议上签名表明我自愿接受采访。当然，我能在任何情况下拒绝回答提问或终止接受采访。

被采访人姓名: _____ **时间:** _____

被采访人签名: _____ **助理研究员签名:** _____

APPENDIX 4

WANUSKEWIN HERITAGE PARK TRAINING PROGRAMME

Overview

The Park's training activities will include the following components:

1. Start-up Training

A training plan is being developed for each position on site. The training will take three forms:

a) General Orientation - everyone on site needs to understand the primary stories at the park, the objectives, standards and procedures.

b) Job Specific Training - to orient all incumbents to their specific tasks.

c) Employee Specific Training - as skill strengths and weaknesses become apparent, new employees will be provided training to improve individual performance.

2. Annual Training

Many of the training components developed for start-up will be of use each spring given the seasonal nature of staffing at the Park.

For full-time employees, the emphasis will shift to employee specific training in future years and become part of a performance management system.

3. Succession Training

There is an opportunity to train selected employees, particularly those of Indian ancestry, to assume positions beyond their current qualifications. This could be done using both on-site and off-site programmes.

Given its mandate to provide opportunities for Indian people, Wanuskewin Heritage Park may wish to take on a role as a training facility itself. It could use its programmes and operations as a training ground to provide Indian people with the experience they need to find jobs outside the organizations. This is a concept that the Staff Advisory Committee will investigates over the next year.

POTENTIAL OVERVIEW OF VISITATION ACTIVITY - 1994/1995

APRIL

Spring Event
ie: Tipi/Crocuses
Courses
Lectures
Gallery
Schools
Easter Celebration

May

Courses
Lectures
Schools
Gallery
Open House

June

Courses
Lectures
Schools
Gallery
Tourism Awareness

July

Camps
Courses
Lectures
High Season/Tourism
Festival Week
AFN

August

Camps
Courses
Lectures
High Season/Tourism
Fringe Festival

September

Season of Gathering
Courses
Lecture
Gallery
Schools

October

Family Week
Courses
Lectures
Gallery
Schools

November

Remembrance Day
Courses
Lectures
Gallery
Schools
Christmas Promo

December

Ice Sculptures
Courses
Lectures
Schools
Christmas Promo

January

Ice Sculptures
Courses
Lectures
Gallery
Schools

February

Sled Dogs
Heritage Week
Courses
Lectures
Gallery
Schools

March

Dinner Theatre
Storytelling
Courses
Lectures
Gallery
Schools
Gift Shop Sale